

The
International
SOCIALIST
REVIEW

The Rip in the Silk Industry

By William D. Haywood

May 1913



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1. Why not issue more co-operative stock as we have been doing? This is a makeshift method that has carried us thus far, but is now becoming an obstacle instead of a help. The reason is that our co-operators have been allowed the privilege of buying our books at a discount of 40 per cent, no matter how small the order. Most of them are ardent Socialists; few of them have the leisure or the experience for carrying on a systematic sale of books. The consequence is that in a careless, desultory fashion, many of them have offered our books to their friends at cost, in a way that has not resulted in the sale of many books, but does give their friends the impression that the books are not worth the advertised retail prices. Thus when some one attempts to make a living from the sale of Socialist books, he often becomes discouraged with the idea that prices are being cut so that he cannot make sales. If we were to make an active campaign for

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Publishing Bonds

the sale of more stock on the old plan, this difficulty would be increased ten-fold. As it is, we hope soon to have the co-operation of all our stock-holders in making prices uniform.

2. Why not borrow from bankers or other capitalists instead of calling on the comrades? Because if we were to borrow any considerable sum from bankers or other capitalists, they would soon be in a position to dictate to us as to the choice of books to publish, and the general policy of the publishing house. In other words, this method of raising money might easily result in taking a most important weapon away from the working class and turning it over to the capitalist class.

3. Why not take in one or more Socialist partners with capital enough to finance the new methods of selling books? Because not even a Socialist with the necessary capital would invest it without reserving to himself enough power over the business to make sure that his returns on his capital would be as large as possible. On the other hand, the present stockholders and directors are desirous of conducting the publishing house in such a way as will best help on the revolutionary movement of the working class, profits or no profits. We intend, as in the past, to meet all our obligations promptly, since otherwise the publishing house might be wrecked, but we mean to circulate the greatest possible amount of the best Socialist literature, regardless of profit. And it is with this in view that we make the following proposition.

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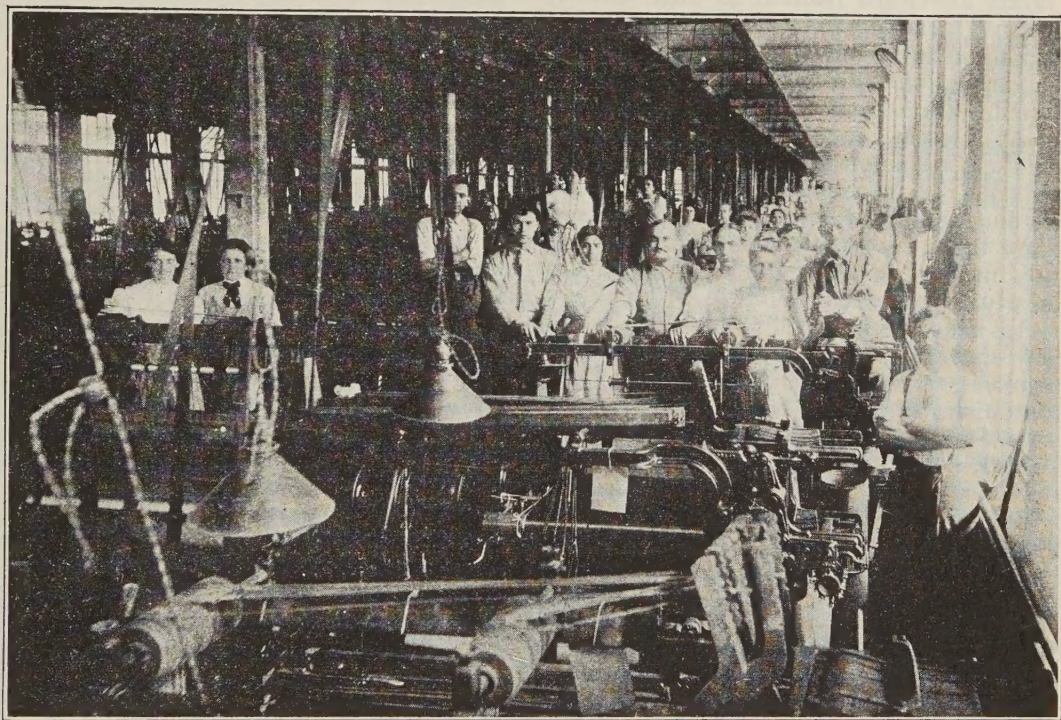
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THE HENRY DOHERTY SILK MILL WHERE THE STRIKE BEGAN AGAINST THE THREE AND FOUR LOOM SYSTEM.

The Rip in the Silk Industry

By William D. Haywood

WHEN the broad silk weavers in Henry Doherty's mill in Paterson, N. J., left their machines last February they inaugurated what has proved to be the closest approach to a general strike that has yet taken place in an American industry.

They revolted against the 3 and 4 loom system which until recently has been con-

fined to the state of Pennsylvania. This system is restricted to the lower grades of silk, messaline and taffeta.

There are almost 300 silk mills in Paterson. Doherty was the first manufacturer to introduce this system there and later it was carried into 26 other mills. The silk workers soon realized that unless this scheme for exploiting them still further

was checked, it would in time pervade the entire industry in the Jersey city.

The silk workers of Paterson are the most skilled in the United States and the employers thought that if there was anywhere in the country where this system could be successfully adopted it was in Paterson. They thought that their workers would stand for it. The workers themselves were not consulted, as the manufacturers afterward realized to their sorrow, when a general strike was called embracing the industry in all its branches and extending to all states where silk is manufactured.

At present no less than 50,000 silk workers are on strike in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York and Connecticut, including those in the preparatory processes, the "throwster" mills, dye houses, broad silk making in all grades, as well as in nearly all the ribbon mills.

In many respects this strike is hardly less significant than that at Lawrence. It involves nearly as many workers and the conditions are just as bad. But the Paterson revolt has attracted less public attention than did the woolen fight. This is due to several reasons.

In the first place, the manufacturers, through their control of outside newspapers, were able to bring about a general conspiracy of silence. The New York papers, for example, after the first few days in which they gave prominence to the strike, were warned through subtle sources that unless there was less publicity they would be made to suffer through loss of support and advertising. Then the Paterson strikers were fortunate in having among them several trained veterans in the labor movement, such as Adolph Lessig, Ewald Koettgen, and Louis Magnet, who had been members of the I. W. W. since 1906, and knew what to do towards putting the strike on an organized basis. For a time they were able to take care of themselves without relying

much on outside help. Besides, the authorities kept their hands off for a time, after their first fright in which they threw Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carlo Tresca and later Patrick Quinlan and Alex Scott, the Socialist editor, into jail. These organizers got on the job instantly and have done excellent work.

The Lyons of America

Paterson is the Lyons of America. It practically has a monopoly in the making of the finer grades of silk in this country. It has 25,400 people engaged in the silk industry and in the manufacture of silk machinery and supplies. Therefore, when practically all these workers came out, the industry was tied up tight.

Fifty-six per cent of the Paterson silk workers are women and children and they have been among the most devoted and enthusiastic strikers.

As this is written, the strike has entered upon its seventh week and the demands of the workers have crystallized around a determination to have the eight-hour day. This will apply to all the workers involved, except the broad silk weavers whose principal demand, as stated, is the abolition of the grinding 3 and 4 loom system.

So greatly have wages been reduced in recent years that the weavers are now demanding the restoration of the 1894 price list which was imposed on them at the time.

With the improvements in machinery that have been made, this would be a great advantage to the ribbon weavers. The dye house workers are holding out for a minimum wage of \$12 a week. In other branches there is a general demand for a 25 per cent increase in wages.

Present wages, according to the manufacturers' figures, average \$9.60 a week. A general call at one of the mass meetings for pay envelopes brought out hundreds which showed the average wage is much lower than this and as all wages are determined by working periods, the actual



ALEXANDER SCOTT,
Editor The Weekly Issue, Passaic.

yearly wage would bring average "earnings" down to \$6 or \$7 a week.

Paterson manufacturers have an absolute monopoly on the finer grades of silk, like brocades, that are made on the Jacquard loom, and it would be easy for them to raise prices to meet wage increases, but because of the cut-throat competition among them, silk is cheaper, on the whole, than it was 15 years ago. This reduction in price, needless to say, has been taken out of the flesh and blood of the workers.

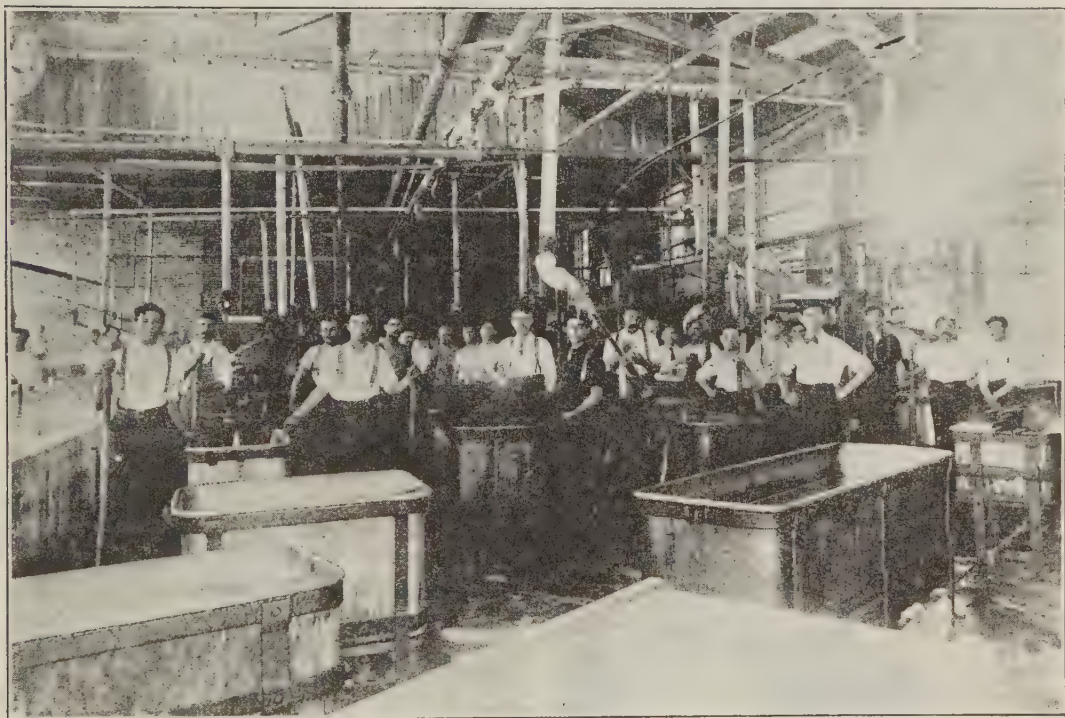
Untrusting Industry

The big capitalists have never tried to

driven into bankruptcy, which already has occurred to a number of them.

The manufacturers as a whole have used as an excuse for not raising wages the plea that they cannot afford it on account of Pennsylvania's competition. But this is untrue, because the Pennsylvania mills are controlled largely by the same interests that center in Paterson.

The Pennsylvania silk mills are situated generally in mining camps and industrial centers where the wages of the men have been so reduced that women and children have been compelled to seek employment



DYE WORKERS—GARCHEY DYE HOUSE.

enter the silk trade, because it deals with a luxury. They are too busy securing their grip on the necessities of life, like food, clothing, steel, transportation, etc.

The Paterson workers, then, have not had to fight a concentrated trust, such as existed at Lawrence, but a gang of scattered employers, all jealous and fearful of each other. The strike undoubtedly would have ended much sooner had it not been for the desire of the richer manufacturers to see the smaller makers starved out and

in the mills. Ninety-one per cent of the workers in the Pennsylvania silk mills are women and children.

Wages in the Pennsylvania silk mills average much less than in New Jersey and it is a peculiar fact that the men get less than the women. The men get \$6.06 a week while the women are making \$7.01.

There are six prominent processes in the making of silk and they are usually done in different establishments. "Thowing" is largely done in Pennsylvania—reeling the

raw silk as it comes from the cocoon, etc. The dyeing is done in separate factories.

The "Dynamiting" Process

It is at this point that the silk is "dynamited"—that is, loaded with adulterants to be later foisted on the gullible purchaser as extra fine goods. In the dye houses one pound of silk is often treated so that its weight is increased to 56 ounces! This is done by dipping the skein into a solution of which sugar, tannic acid, tin, lead, and iron are often components.

This adulteration, amounting to a direct steal, enhances the weight of the fabric but at the same time weakens the texture and destroys the life of the cloth. Silk so treated will crumble away while it stands in the wardrobe before it has been subjected to use.

One of the most alarming features of the strike to the manufacturers, was the publicity given this system of "dynamiting" or loading silk. In consequence there is a growing demand for a government stamp which will denote pure fabric similar to that which is supposed to guarantee pure food.

The work of the dyers is the most unhealthful and disagreeable in the industry and is almost the worst paid. The strike came as a welcome relief to them from day after day of filthy and monotonous toil. They work 13 hours on the night shift and 11 on the day side. They are compelled to stand in wet and soggy places, their hands are always submerged in chemicals which

discolors and burns their flesh and sometimes eats off the nails of their fingers.

The Red Badge of Toil

In this connection it is worth while to relate an incident—one of the most dramatic of the strike. The Paterson bosses lost no time in injecting the "patriotic" issue, after the fashion of Lawrence, Little Falls and Akron. The red flag, they howled, stood for blood, murder and anarchy—the Star Spangled Banner must be upheld, etc., etc. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was on the platform at a big strike meeting one day explaining the significance of the red flag when a striking dyer sprang up from the middle of the audience crying:

"I know! Here is the red flag!"

And aloft he held his right hand—stained a permanent bloody crimson, gnarled from years of toil, and corroded by the scarlet dye which it was his business to put into the fabrics worn by the dainty lady of the capitalist class as well as by the fawning prostitute.

For an instant there was silence and then the hall was rent by cries from the husky throats as all realized this humble dyer indeed knew the meaning of the red badge of his class.

Ribbon weaving is largely done by men and women. In this department the bosses have developed a speeding up system with reductions in pay, overlooking no opportunity to introduce improved machinery. Thus they increase production, at the same time they lowered the pay, until the workers are now demanding a scale which 19 years ago was imposed upon them! That is, the weavers now ask a wage that prevailed two decades ago.

The significance of this demand makes it plain that in the evolution of industry and the introduction of new machinery the workers have obtained no benefit, while the bosses have reaped ever increasing profits.

Many children are employees in the silk industry, most of them being between the ages of 14 and 16. However, there are few violations of the child labor law, not because the manufacturers care anything about either the law or the children, but because the making of high grade silk requires the careful and efficient work that only adults can give. However, the Paterson capitalists have begun to set up plants in the southern states as well as in the min-



ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN,



"BILL" AND THE KIDS.

ing regions of Pennsylvania, installing there new style looms which can be operated by girls and children.

Meeting For Children

One of the best and most enthusiastic meetings held during the strike was that for the benefit of the children of the mills. They packed Turner Hall and listened eagerly and with appreciation as speakers outlined to them the development in the manufacture of silk from the cocoon to the completed fabric lying on the shelves of the rich department store.

The strike has been viciously fought from the very beginning. The usual combination of press, pulpit and police has labored both openly and secretly to weaken it and break it, but without avail. For seven weeks the Paterson newspapers have delivered screams of rage and fury day after day. They have not hesitated to urge any measure that might break the strike, from tar-and-feathers to murder Day after day in big, black headlines in their

front pages they have demanded that the "I. W. W. blatherskites" be driven out of town. They have constantly incited the police to violence and urged the authorities to take "drastic measures." All in vain. On the day this is written the leading organ of the manufacturers admits that the police, the administration and the courts have been helpless and it now begs the workers themselves to "drive the I. W. W. out of town," promising that if they will organize into "a decent, dignified, American union," the whole city will demand that the bosses give them the conditions for which they ask.

Little Violence

Despite this, another paper admits in its editorial columns that Paterson after all ought to be thankful. "Though 25,000 people have been on strike here for seven weeks," it says, "there has been remarkably little violence."

As was the case in Lawrence, nearly every nationality on earth is represented in the strike. The Italians and Germans

are the most numerous, with thousands of Russians, Poles, Hungarians and Armenians besides. Shoulder to shoulder they have stood, with a spirit and loyalty that nothing could break or weaken. For seven long weeks they have held out and in place of food many of them have simply taken up another link in their belts and drunk a glass of water. Some relief money has come in but not enough to help any except the most needy cases.

Incidents without number could be given to show the spirit of self sacrifice and devotion among the Paterson workers. The jail has had no terrors for them, since accommodations there are hardly worse than in the "homes" they are compelled to live in. On occasions when the police have started wholesale arrests they have vied with each other in placing themselves in the hands of the "bulls." One day when the police gathered in more than 200 of

them, they refused to walk to jail but demanded the patrol wagon. When the police pleaded that the patrol wagon would hold only a few at a time, they said they would wait! And the patrol wagon the police were compelled to get, making trip after trip to the jail while the arrested strikers stood in a group and laughed and sang.

The meetings we have held have been wonders. Day after day the strikers have crowded into Turn and Helvetia Halls with enthusiasm just as rampant as one the first day of the strike and on the Sundays when the Socialist city of Haledon is visited, at the invitation of Socialist Mayor William Brueckmann, for open air meetings, it has seemed as if the whole population of the northern part of New Jersey was present. To speak at such meetings is worth a whole lifetime of agitation.



STRIKE MEETING AT HALEDON, SUNDAY, MARCH 23. THIS VIEW SHOWS ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF THE CROWD.



ON THE JOB AT THE HALEDON LINE.

The Arrest of Haywood and Lessig

By Phillips Russell

DETERMINED that the 25,000 silk strikers of Paterson, N. J., should not listen to William D. Haywood on Sunday, March 30, the guardians of Paterson's law and order, seized Haywood and Adolph Lessig on their way to Haledon and, in the interests of the mill owners, secured Haywood's conviction and sentence to six months at hard labor, and Lessig to six months.

No single act or process in the proceeding had the least semblance of legality, and no attempt to make even a show of legality was made. The mill owners are represented on Paterson's Police Commission by one of themselves. They appointed as Recorder one James F. Carroll, notorious in the city as a bar room politician. They wanted Haywood and Lessig out of the way; they had them seized by their police; they put them behind the prison bars, and intended them to stay there.

A mass meeting had been called for Sunday, March 30, in Lafayette Oval, which had been secured for the purpose by the strikers. On the preceding Saturday Police Chief Bimson issued an order prohibiting the meeting, but partly because of the late-

ness of the order's appearance, but more largely because they believed they had the rights of free assemblage and free speech, the strikers ignored the order, and at the appointed hour began to pour in thousands down the roads leading to the meeting place.

In the meantime, a squad of special police detailed for special duty, namely, to prevent the meeting and disperse the crowd, held up Haywood and Lessig a block before they reached the Oval. The police informed Haywood that no meeting would be allowed, and that if he attempted to speak he would be arrested, whereupon the strikers within hearing distance shouted: "On to Haledon!"

The cry was taken up by the thousands assembled, Haywood assenting: "All right—we'll go to Haledon," and he began to walk the two miles beyond which lies the little Socialist municipality, followed by the strikers who had just learned that in Paterson they had no rights.

The crowd was perfectly orderly, although without any formation, but when it had got within half a block of the city's limits the patrol wagon thundered through



CHIEF BIMSON AND HIS "BULLS" IN FRONT OF STRIKE HEADQUARTERS.

the mass of men, women and children to where Haywood and Lessig were walking in front. Motorcycle police had noted the general direction of the crowd and had rushed for the wagon, which was hooted and jeered by the strikers as it dashed directly for Haywood and Lessig.

Police Sergeant Ryan jumped out of the wagon, pointed at Haywood, saying, "You're under arrest!" and grabbed Lessig, at the same time shouting, "Get Tresca!" Carlo Tresca, however, had dropped behind. As the wagon dashed by on its way to Haywood, some friends seized Tresca and hurried him into the house of a friend from whence he smiled pleasantly at the police who came to seize him.

After Haywood and Lessig were under arrest, the police, in a frantic effort to drive back the crowd, met with one who refused to be hurried. This was Messari, who was arrested and later arraigned on the same charges as the two principal defendants, some of the police conveniently swearing he was with them, as the amended charge required three defendants to make it legal.

"Have you a warrant?" asked Haywood of the policemen who rode with him in the wagon.

"I have," answered one of them.

The three men were then thrown into the city jail, where Haywood was sub-

jected to every indignity and outrage that a man can be forced to suffer. Almost immediately after the gate of his cell was slammed shut the jailors encouraged visitors to peer in between the bars as though he were a wild beast. This rubber-necking continued until 10 o'clock at night, when Haywood was brought out of the cell and paraded before the platoon of policemen about to go on night duty.

"Look at this man," said Police Captain O'Brien. "You may need to know him again."

The inspection over, Haywood was locked again in his cell, to be interviewed at 3 a. m. by the prosecutor of Bergen County and the county's detectives.

Again at 5 a. m. he was pulled out of his cell for yet another inspection by Paterson police going on morning duty.

No formal charge had been preferred against him while he was thus treated as outrageously as though he had been convicted of some loathsome crime.

There was good reason for no charge having been made. A complaint had been filed by the police after the arrest, alleging unlawful assemblage, but between the arrest and the court proceedings in the morning following, it was discovered that on the charge of unlawful assemblage he could not be convicted by the recorder, who would

have had to accept bail. This, however, was not what the mill owners wanted, and the charge of "obstructing and interfering" was added. This charge could be heard before Recorder Carroll, who at the hearing found Haywood guilty of such obstructing and interfering. He was thereupon adjudged guilty of disorderly conduct and sentenced to six months at hard labor. The sentence stands as proof of the personal hatred felt toward Haywood by the mill owners and the authorities, for the recorder had no jurisdiction to sentence anybody to six months at hard labor, the sentence itself being utterly illegal.

Lessig's conviction followed, and he was sentenced to six months without hard labor, while Messari was discharged.

Haywood, who had been taken to the patrol wagon to be hurried to the county jail to begin his sentence, was brought back into the court room to face the charge of "unlawful assemblage." The motion of his attorneys to have the case dismissed for the reason that no offense had been mentioned in the complaint, was promptly overruled by Recorder Carroll, and Haywood was held in the sum of \$5,000 bail. The same sum was fixed for Lessig, and Messari was paroled in the charge of his attorneys, no bail being fixed in his case.

A writ of certiorari was at once sued out for the disorderly conduct charge, and a writ of habeas corpus for the unlawful assemblage charge. Both writs were granted and bail furnished on the disorderly charge, and so far as the six months sentence was concerned both prisoners were released. On the unlawful assemblage charge they refused to accept bail, demanding a hearing on the writ of habeas corpus for the purpose of establishing the rights of themselves and of the hun-



MASS MEETINGS DAILY—HAYWOOD SPEAKING.

dreds of strikers who had been arrested on similar complaints. The authorities depended for conviction upon a law of the vintage of the seventeenth century, passed in the reign of Charles II.

For a week Haywood and Lessig lay in jail, awaiting a hearing on the writ of habeas corpus, while the strikers in monster mass meetings vowed not to return to the mills until Haywood and Lessig were released.

On Saturday, April 5, the hearing on the writ came before Supreme Court Justice



TRESCA, QUINLAN. SCOTT. HAYWOOD.

Minturn, who, after subjecting the state's witnesses to many painful questions, upon motion of Attorney Hunziker ordered the release of the prisoners, declaring they had been illegally arrested.

In the course of the hearing Prosecutor Dunn protested, in support of the charge, that a crowd was following Haywood.

"Would you arrest me" asked the justice, "if a crowd was following me? These people wanted to see Haywood, and he cannot be held responsible for that."

"But there was a great deal of noise," urged the prosecutor.

"Do you arrest the Salvation Army, which always makes a noise?" countered Justice Minturn.

"Well, the prisoner was not going in the direction of his home, pleaded the prosecutor.

"Would I be arrested for walking toward Haledon because I do not live in that direction?" demanded Minturn.

Police Sergeant Ryan on the stand testified that people came to the windows and on their porches, and this was on Sunday. Judge Minturn in reply remarked they might have done the same on St. Patrick's Day!

So ended one of the most flagrant outrages upon the rights of the working class that American records contain. It was a great victory for Haywood and Lessig and for the 25,000 strikers in whose behalf they were arrested.

In addressing a mass meeting of upwards of 20,000 strikers next day in Haledon, Haywood said:

"When Recorder Carroll sentenced me to six months at hard labor, he meant to sentence Paterson silk workers to ten hours' hard labor every day for the rest of their lives. He meant to sentence the weavers to the three and four loom system. He meant to sentence every worker to perpetual wage slavery."



Photo by Courtesy of Andre Tridon, N. Y. City.

COMRADES HAYWOOD AND TRESKA SMOKING TURKISH PIPE WHILE BEING ENTERTAINED BY ARMENIAN STRIKERS.

Photograph
by
Paul Thompson



Touring Europe
in
1911 and '12

MORGAN

By John K. Hildebrand

ONCE met a man who was still agitated over his meeting with J. P. Morgan. He was a Chicago newspaper reporter, who was told by his editor not to come back to the office unless he had obtained an interview with the God Almighty of the United States.

The reporter knew better than to try to tackle Morgan in a hotel or any public place, so finding that the financier would arrive in Chicago from New York on a certain early morning train, the reporter was there to meet it. He learned from a trainman that the Morgan car was on a siding in the railroad yards and the king was just then having his breakfast. Watching his chance, the reporter eluded the usual railroad watchmen and, slipping out over the tracks, reached the Morgan car without being seen. Seeing a group

of men standing at the forward end, he approached the car from the rear and, finding the door open, he took his life in his hands, as it were, and walked boldly in.

Not a soul intercepted him, so he pushed his way in till he found himself face to face with the giant himself, who was seated at breakfast.

"Good morning, Mr. Morgan," said the reporter with a would-be ingratiating smile and removing his hat.

"Morning," said the financier, shortly.

Awed by the stories he had heard of the ogre's fearful temper, the reporter was afraid to open his mouth, but he tried again.

"Beautiful morning, isn't it, Mr. Morgan?" he said.

"Umph!" replied the great man.

The reporter tried again.

"Does your breakfast taste good, Mr. Morgan?"

"No!" exploded the financier.

"Wh-wh-what's the matter, Mr. Morgan?" asked the reporter, feeling as if he somehow were guilty.

"My grape fruit wasn't chilled!" roared the American overlord.

The reporter was so frightened by the news of this calamity that he murmured something that made no difference, and hastily crept out of the car, whence he fled in disorder.

The reporter swore all this happened as described, but whether it did or not, it sounds lifelike. People who often came in contact with the great man have told me that the man concerning whose demise the newspapers have printed so many columns of disgusting adulation recently, generally acted more like a spoiled child than a self-respecting adult.

But the United States shivered when he sneezed, because he controlled the economic resources of the country.

Note what Senator Root had to say at the memorial meeting held by the New York Chamber of Commerce:

"The scope of his enterprise gave him a relation to public affairs that was unexampled not only in our own country, but, I think, in any country. There were so many investors in so many enterprises whom his chivalric sense of honor led him to desire to protect that the financial condition of the country was a matter of immediate interest to him, and **he took the place that the Government should have taken many and many a time.** The faults of our financial system, made possible by the incapacity of lawmakers to

reconcile confidence and knowledge, he remedied from time to time as occasion arose by his own tremendous power; **and that was government.**

"What Mr. Morgan did in the settlement of the coal strike, what he did in the panic of 1907, **was government as truly as the leadership of a great nation acquired by one commanding figure turns it into an army for conquest, for defense, is government.**"

Root here openly acknowledges what Socialists have contended for a long time—that the government of the United States has its seat not in Washington, but at the corner of Broad and Wall streets, New York, where Morgan's offices are.

Root's utterances confirm what revolutionists also have contended for so long—that government rests not on political, but ECONOMIC power.

In other words, to direct the country's government, one must first gain ECONOMIC power. Everything else follows thereafter. Control the means by which the country makes its living, and you have the country by the tail. You can direct its destinies as you see fit. And that is the lesson to be learned by the working class from Morgan's life and death.

I won't go into the methods by which Morgan made his money. Gustavus Myers has done that in his "Great American Fortunes," and all are familiar with Morgan's sale to the government, in the civil war, of condemned army rifles.

Suffice it to say that Morgan's body came home draped in the American flag.





A GROUP OF MEXICAN COMRADES.

Socialism In Mexico

By Comrade Paul Zierold

DURING the dictatorial reign of Porferio Diaz it was absolutely impossible to establish any progressive political movement in Mexico, far less a Socialist Party.

Death or long terms of imprisonment in one of the worst prisons on earth—the Island of Man, in the Harbor of Vera Cruz—were meted out to those trying to change the unbearable conditions of the country. Many Mexicans of noble, intelligent mind had to pay dearly for their attempt.

Only the capitalist class found favor in his eye. In his long reign, Diaz had clearly demonstrated that he was an outspoken enemy of the working class. Dense ignorance, misery impossible to describe and bondage of farm laborers, were rampant. The same fate which befell the forerunner of a liberal government befell likewise factory strikers.

In the great strike at the big cotton and spinning mills of Rio Blanco-Orizaba, State of Vera Cruz, some five years ago, the

despotic and sanguinary Diaz sent his soldiers simply to shoot down the workers. Many of their wives and children were also assassinated. Some 200 strikers lost their lives at the order of this tyrant. As soon as Diaz and his administration fell, a few Socialists united to organize the first Socialist Party of Mexico.

At the same time many trade-workers and laborers organized themselves into Unions and made great progress. Strikes were frequent, some of significant importance and bringing magnificent results. The country has been since in a continuous turmoil of rapid evolution and progress. The railroad employees have asked for an eight hour work day.

It is quite natural and certain that only a few of the masses, as yet, comprehend a fraction of Socialism, but considering the great disadvantages, an enormous awakening has set in. Each day brings new converts to the doctrine of Socialism. At present there are published six Socialist peri-

odicals in various parts of the republic. Without doubt before long a Socialist Party of great importance will be established in Mexico, which will make a fine showing against the professional politicians and the bourgeoisie class, which, in this country, is especially cruel in its exploitation of the workers.

Further, the Socialists of Mexico sincerely desire a connecting link and an extension of co-operation to their Socialist brethren in the United States.

In March of last year the Socialist party of Mexico sent its first delegate to the Socialist Congress at Indianapolis.

The party has also translated and caused to be printed various booklets on Socialism published in the U. S. A., which it is using to good advantage in its propaganda work.

The party desires to get into closer relations with the comrades of the U. S. A., especially those comrades intending to visit Mexico City. They may write the secretary of its local, A. Santibáñez, 8a. Revillagigedo, No. 101 Mexico City, who will be pleased to give any information desired. Suffice it to say, that they carry with them their little "Red Card" of membership, so he may know that they are duly affiliated with the Socialist Party of the U. S. A.—A. S.—C. C. R.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

The above article was ready to be sent you some two weeks ago, but it has been delayed until now owing to the revolution. We believe it important to give you likewise a few words on the last horrible events occurring right here in the heart of this city, with a population of some 470,000 inhabitants.

Several thousand people, soldiers, civilians, men women and children and many horses were killed. Five thousand were wounded. Many fine houses were greatly damaged through cannon balls, and machine guns. Telegraph and telephone posts and wires were torn down by cannon shots—a spectacle that even international diplomacy did not prevent. How long will the patience of nations still last before they send their diplomats home?

The murdering of soldiers and civilians has been endured by the people in this city for eleven days. Gustavo Madera was arrested on the 18th of February at noon time at a champagne banquet with some twenty friends in one of the principal streets in a cafe while the shooting and killing went on uninterruptedly. The same night he was executed at the capitol. The President and Vice-President were likewise shot to death a day or two later. We have now a new cabinet, consisting of well known persons, who promise to restore quiet and order out of the chaos in the least possible time.



Courting Trouble in South Africa

State-Ownership is State-Capitalism

By V. E. Boyd

Government ownership does not mean Socialism. In the most highly developed countries, from a capitalist point of view, the various governments are **ADVOCATING** government ownership, because the capitalist class **IS** the government. Government ownership would merely give this same exploiting class an abstract institution behind which to hide while it continued upon its joyful career of buccaneering.—*International Socialist Review*, December, 1912.

THAT the idea of state ownership being Socialism is entirely ridiculed by latter-day students of the working class movement is obvious to even the most dull amongst us. But still we find people who place great faith in state ownership. Just to show how advantageous (?) the placing of any industry or public utility under the control of the state, is to the working man, I should like to give our American (and other) comrades a short illustration of "scientific" methods employed by the South African Government in the running of the state-owned South African railways.

Of course, it might be wondered why a young country like South Africa should have already attained such a height in capitalist development as to have anything state-owned without first going through the various other stages of capitalist progress. But to explain.

South Africa is a young country, sparsely inhabited, of great mineral resources, of splendid farming prospects and already owned by a small handful of capitalists. Now these capitalists literally speaking, are not fools. They are "all there" on questions affecting their pockets and you cannot stay their progress. They have before them the experiences and the results of experiments of their fellow capitalists the world over. They have only to observe what their friends in America

or Europe have found to be the best paying propositions and they can go and do likewise without fear of loss through experiments or failure of inventions. They are not yet convinced that the ownership of the mines of this country by the state, is the best plan, but they see that the railways which convey their gold, diamonds and coal to the ports must not be in the hands of several companies; they are safer under the control of the state. They could not perhaps control all the companies. They can control the state. The working expenses which otherwise would have had to be borne by them are now borne by the state. The state finances their enterprises and they control the state. Therefore we have in South Africa a state-owned railway.

One more point. With the growth of the capitalist rule, we have likewise the growth of a political party which claims to represent the working class just as the same party has arisen in all other British colonies—the Labor Party.

Now one would imagine that while the capitalists of South Africa had been watching and advancing with the progress of their fellow capitalists in other parts, that the Labor Party advocates would have done likewise. Always advancing to meet the capitalists. But not so with our Labor Party. It stands for the "state ownership of all railways, docks, mines and public

utilities, state bank and state life and fire insurance department."

While the out-of-dateness of such a party is really deplorable, it promises to become the ruling party within a few years. God help us! Its ranks are fast filling with lawyers, parsons, doctors, shopkeepers and in fact opportunists of any and every "profession" who are unable to attain notoriety in the capitalist parties but who, through their oily tongued ways are able to fool the workers with promises of minimum wage, an eight-hour day, old-age pension, taxation of land values and numerous other long exploded fallacies.

When the four states of South Africa were unified in 1910, it was generally hoped that better times were in store for every one on the railway. But better times were slow in coming. Men hoped and waited impatiently. They excused delays by saying it must surely take some time to straighten things out and get the machinery of the union into proper working order.

At last the government made a move and in 1912 it appointed two commissions. One to inquire into and report with a view to rectifying the grievances of the railway employees. The other to inquire into and recommend a scheme whereby different classes of workmen could be placed into different ranks, together with a suggested scheme of pay, privileges, etc., to be accorded to each.

After sitting for months and taking volumes of evidence, the report of the Regrading Commission has been published but the Grievance Commission's report has been held back. Now the object of a Grievance Commission being held to give the Regrading Commission something to work on, viz., the actual grievances of the men, it would then come forward with new regulations which would entirely eliminate discontent.

Imagine the surprise of railway men when the Regrading Commission's report came out and its recommendations were accepted without notice being taken of the Grievance Commission. And the new regulations are obnoxious in every respect! Meetings of protest have been held all over South Africa. Dark hints of a strike have been thrown out and the government has agreed to hold the regulations back for two months.

The standard rate of wages in the Transvaal amongst organized trades is \$4.80 per day, but on the railway, with the exception of these trade unionists, wages of artisans vary from \$2.40 to \$4.56. Under the new regulations, there is to be a maximum pay for every year's service. But no man can rise above \$4.56 per day. The pay of employees at present getting above the maximum will not be reduced.

This may seem very nice but the complexion is somewhat altered when we learn that the \$4.56 is to be divided into \$3.60 substantive pay and 96 cents allowance. This it is claimed is done in order to secure uniformity throughout South Africa which for the purpose of this proposition has been divided into four areas; coastal area where the substantive wage only will be paid and on which part of South Africa all wages will be based; area A, where the cost of living is highest on account of the distance from the coast and which necessitates an allowance of 96 cents a day; area B, where the cost of living is less than A but necessitates an allowance of 48 cents a day; area C, which comes next to the coast and men only need 24 cents a day extra.

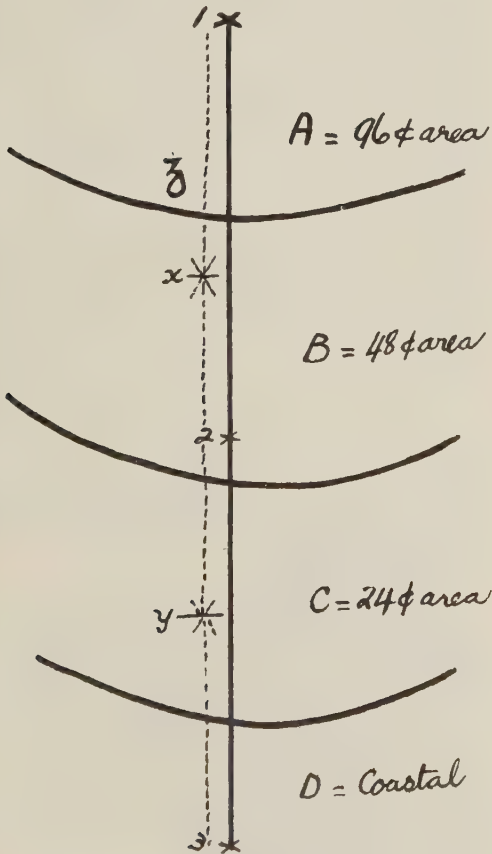
Let us take for an example, a carriage and wagon examiner. According to new regulations he starts at \$2.04 and can rise to \$2.64 per day plus his 96 cents allowance. Now wagon examiners today get as much as \$3.84 and as the government has promised not to reduce wages this man will be regraded to \$2.88 and 96 cents per day. They will then send him off to the coast where he loses his 96 cents and is left with \$2.88. Then they send a man from the coast with say two years' service at \$2.16 to replace him giving the man the 96 cents allowance, bringing his pay up to \$3.12, which means a reduction of wages in the Transvaal. Later an excuse will be found for "firing" the man sent to the coast on account of his wages, and he will be replaced by a new man starting at the one year's service wage. Not improbable, is it?

But the trouble will arise when it comes to a trade unionist. A fitter's pay here is \$4.80, at the coast, \$3.36. The man here is regraded to \$3.84 plus 96 cents allowance and sent to the coast for \$3.84. A man comes from the coast at \$3.36 plus 96 cents equals \$4.20 against his union's standard

of \$4.80. What will it mean? The unions will have to put up a terrible fight to maintain the standard rate. All along they have denied the colored men of this country admission to their ranks. The colored men are fast learning trades and their standard of living is low. Capitalism is no respecter of color. Trouble then looms on the horizon. In the attempt to reduce wages, the mines will very soon help the railway and then there will be more trouble.

The framing of these regulations must have had some considerable time put into them. The next point is well thought out.

The lines are divided into divisions with a superintendent in charge of each division. Some of these divisions cut into two different allowance areas. Look at this sketch.



A, B, C, D represent the allowance areas.
 1, 2, 3 represent the places at which divisional superintendents are stationed with their staffs.
 No. 1 works south to X.
 No. 2 works north to X and south to Y.
 No. 3 works north to Y.

They intend now to extend No. 2 section north from x to z, thereby reducing No. 1 section, which means in order to maintain the enlarged district now under his control, the superintendent at No. 2 must have more men. They are therefore transferred from 1 to 2, bringing them out of the 96-cent area into the 48-cent area. Simple, isn't it? Such is the advantage of being able to control the whole of the state. Men can be moved about like chessmen.

Then the question of overtime. Overtime is paid only on the substantive wage and not on the allowance. The explanation for this probably is that the allowance is granted on the increased cost of living per day of 24 hours and no matter how many hours are worked per day, the cost of living doesn't vary so that you cannot claim overtime on any allowance granted which leads you into admitting that the substantive rate is recognized as the actual pay you receive.

Piecework is to be introduced on every possible occasion.

And what are the railway men going to do about it? Unfortunately they can do nothing. They have jogged along carelessly always dreaming that good things were coming and now this bombshell suddenly thrown amongst them, finds them unprepared. Caught napping. After two and a half years they are awake to find themselves fooled.

There are 50,000 railway men. There is a Railway Servants' Society with a membership of about 9,000. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers claims some. The Boilermakers' Society claims others. But they can do nothing. *Solidarity* is a word unknown as yet in South Africa. The government intends enforcing the new regulations on March 1st and they cannot be stopped. It will be a lesson. Let us hope it will be well learned. Too much faith and trust has always been put in the men who profess to "lead" the labor movement. When trade union organizers speaking at protest meetings finish up by appealing to the audience to "Vote Labor," it goes to show that every move is but an attempt to satisfy certain political ambitions. The labor movement is a record of exploitation of working men by office seekers. There is, as you Americans say, still "boodle" attached to it. And the workers go

on satisfied because their "leaders" have told them everything is all right.

The railway men have been sold a (pup) before; but this time the pup has grown into a full-sized dog. Perhaps they will wake and when they do stir, the world will know that state ownership is not an ideal to waste time on. Then, let us hope, the labor parties of the world will sink into

the oblivion from which they should never have emerged, taking with them their pet scheme to state ownership, or, as an alternative, come out with us and declare for the real thing—Social ownership.

Oh, for a Bill Haywood to help us out; to show the workers of South Africa wherein lies the road to emancipation. We want no "leaders." We want *teachers*.

Who Gets the Rake-Off?

By Ed Moore

POLITICIANS are always accusing each other of making the workers poor and keeping them in poverty.

You will realize that these statements are usually only tricks to get your votes if you will think about them.

Stop and think over the way cloth is made today and the way it was made 100 years ago, or the old way of butchering cattle and the great packing houses we see today. Recall the old-fashioned shoe makers and the shoe factories now in existence. It is easy to see that no political party caused these changes in the way meat and shoes and cloth and clothes are made.

Not many years ago poor widows and the wives of day-laborers used to earn a little money by doing the washing for families who could afford to hire this work done. But the majority of our mothers did their own washings.

Now steam laundries have taken this work out of nearly every home and out of the hands of the poor women who formerly made a scanty living washing other people's clothes. Clothes are now washed in huge establishments. "Washing" is no longer a household duty but has become a separate branch of industry.

If a politician told you this change was brought about by the Republican or Democratic parties you would not believe him. And yet the big steam laundries have been the cause of new duties for the politicians. They afford an opening for a new political graft.

When a woman washes clothes in her own home, there is no need for a factory

law or factory inspector to set the time she may work, or consume in eating her lunch. It is none of his concern whether she is going to church on Sunday or washing other people's dirty clothes.

But as soon as steam laundries come into existence, the owners begin to hunt up the politicians and to urge them to pass laws that will keep out competitors from the laundry business. Whenever a rich corporation gets a good grip in a certain line of industry it always goes to the politicians to secure their help in keeping other people out.

And some of these politicians are sitting in comfortable offices, drawing big salaries for doing certain things. One of these duties is to see that the corporations comply with the labor laws and to inspect factories and see that the employers do not violate factory ordinances, or to see that buildings are fireproof.

It is a great deal easier holding down a political job of this kind than it is working in a coal mine or a mill or factory. The work is steadier and pays better.

No matter who he is, you will generally find that even the labor leader who secures each a job, develops weak eyes and dull ears when he comes to inspect a laundry whose owners have "seen" the governor or chief factory inspector.

And so you see that the way our dirty clothes are washed has something to do with politics. The factory inspector came into politics only when clothes began to be washed in steam laundries, and cattle were

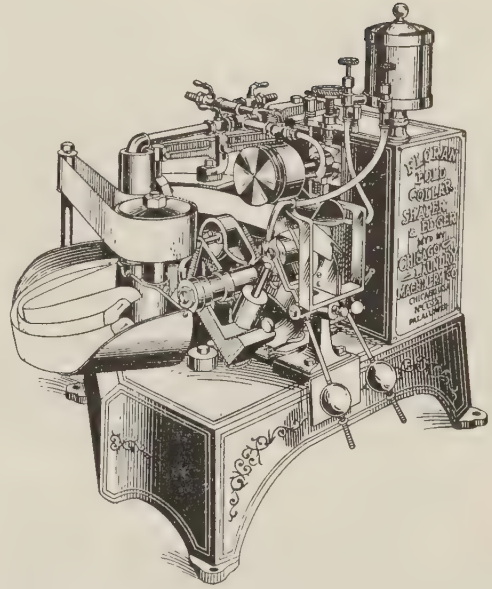
killed in big stock yards and clothes were woven in great mills.

And the factory inspectors, like all politicians, are friendly with the rich companies and do all they can to hinder and hamper the small ones for the benefit of those who can pay them best. Factory inspection is one of the means of freezing the small laundries and small business men out of an industry. It helps the big fellows and enables the inspectors to "get something" on the side, in the shape of a bribe. Did you ever notice how hard it is to convince a factory inspector that anything is wrong in the factory of a very rich man? In such cases they are always filled with "reasonable doubt" about any law breaking.

There is a big difference between washing clothes in your own home for your own use and washing clothes in a laundry. In the laundry the laundry owner hires men, women and girls to wash clothes for other folks so that he can make a PROFIT. In Chicago four girls working in steam laundries can iron 400 shirt fronts per hour BY MACHINERY, and one girl can iron 10,000 collars a day.

The laundry owner is not interested in the shirts, the collars or the girls EXCEPT AS THEY BRING IN PROFITS. It is the laundry girls, WHO MAKE PROFITS FOR HIM, by washing other people's clothes.

When every women washed the clothes



ONE "GOOD" GIRL WILL IRON PERFECTLY 10,000 COLLARS A DAY.

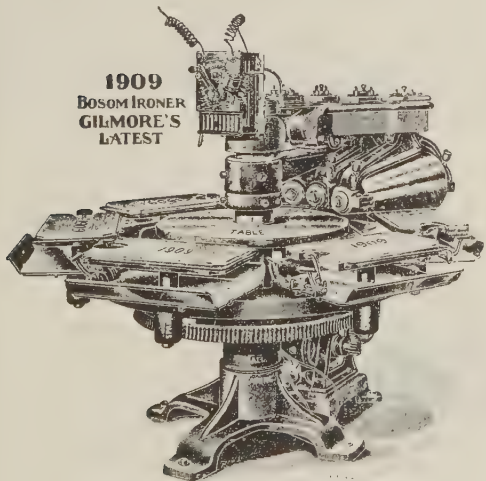
for her family and spun the thread and wove the cloth, when nearly everything used and worn and eaten in the home was MADE or produced by the people in it, FOR THEMSELVES there were no Morgans on one side and wage-workers on the other.

But the Morgans own the laundries and the bakeries, the factories and mills, or they own stock in them. And they are only interested in these industries because they PAY DIVIDENDS.

THE WORKER does all the washing and ironing done in a laundry. They probably do from \$10.00 to \$40.00 worth of work a day and the boss pays them from \$1.00 to \$2.00 out of this money and KEEPS THE REST. That is where he gets his profits.

An important thing to remember is that the stockholders of the laundry companies get their dividends no matter which political party they support. They can live in China and their dividends will be sent across the waters to them because the LEGAL GOVERNMENT (which reflects the economic interests of the strongest class) gives them the lawful right to pay men and women and girls LESS THAN THEIR WORK IS WORTH.

This law enables stockholders, who have



1909
BOSOM IRONER
GILMORE'S
LATEST

1909. 6 SHIRT BOSOM IRONER

THIS MACHINE IRONS SIX SHIRTS A MINUTE,
360 SHIRT BOSOMS AN HOUR.

never seen the factory to get their PROFITS, OR RAKE-OFF, out of the work of their employees.

And because the law permits employers to TAKE the value of your work, the employers are never satisfied with what they get. The stockholders are always planning tricks that will enable them to hire you for LOWER wages, or to force you to work longer hours so that their PROFITS will be higher.

On the other side the laundry workers—and all other intelligent workingmen and women, are always trying to get MORE of the value of their work. They see the boss collecting \$30 or \$40 for their laundry work and paying them \$2.00 and they strive for more wages.

And so the bosses and the workers are always fighting over the MONEY THE LAUNDRY WORKERS HAVE EARNED. There are disputes, strikes, lockouts and all kinds of "labor troubles."

In politics, the stockholders vote for the old or for reform parties because they know the parties will give them the LEGAL power to keep on DIVIDING up the money the laundry workers have earned washing dirty clothes. No matter how many clothes a working girl may wash and iron—if she turned out a thousand dollar's worth of work a day, the boss would collect the payment from the customers and TAKE ALL SHE HAD EARNED but her wages.

If a miner digs 40 tons of coal, the boss grabs it ALL and only gives the miner wages.

Think of it! The workers make everything, build everything. They dig the coal

and raise the wheat and bake the bread. They wash the dirty linen of the whole world.

And the master class grabs our product—the coal you dig, the cloth I weave, the baker's bread, the laundress' earnings. They claim our product for themselves. They only pay us a small part of what it is worth.

You will notice that it is not the workers who get rich but the laundry owners, the factory owners, the mill and mine owners. They take the things we make and pay us wages for making them. And the difference between the wages we get and the value of the things we make, or the work we do in the laundries, is what is making the millionaires today.

Whenever we strike or unite in any way to get more of the value of our products, we find the law in one form or another protecting the bosses in their robbery. The lawyers, judges, courts, policemen, the army and navy protect the master robbers just like some of the policemen protect the hold-up men while they are going through the pockets of their victims.

Socialism means that the workers shall no longer divide up the fruits of their labor with the stockholding shirkers.

The Socialist party is a party of the working class that means to secure control of the legal power so that the courts, the army and navy, the police and the law shall be used to abolish the wage system. Socialism will abolish POOR workingmen and women and RICH idlers. It will mean for those *who work*—comfort, and every good thing that there is in the world. It will banish poverty from the face of the earth!





From Current Literature.

THE MAN OF SUSSEX.

The man (part of whose jaw and skull were found) was undoubtedly akin to the apes. The lower jaw is unmistakably ape-like, while presenting other features indubitably human. It is ape-like, for example, in its massiveness, in the absence of a chin, and in the shortness and great breadth of the upper branch whereby the jaw is hinged to the skull. In the making of his reconstructions, Mr. Forestier, the artist, was much indebted to Dr. A. Smith Woodward, who was good enough to supervise the work, making Mr. Forestier's reconstructions of the man as accurate as it can be.

THE head professor in the department of biology in one of our best known universities, recently said that in all probability, the human race would cease to alter very materially in coming years from the standpoint of biology.

Man would not develop webbed feet or hands, for example, through the necessity of living in swampy or watery regions. Nor would he acquire hands where feet had been through future tree-dwelling. We have at last almost conquered our environment. We may travel in the cold and frost of the arctics by wearing heavier clothing, building fires and eating heat-producing foods. We have drained the fever infested swamps and made them healthful habitations for man. There is no need of our growing gills or webbed digits; instead, today we build boats.

But comes again another member of the faculty who declares we are already changing precisely because we have become masters of our environment. The human characteristics adaptable to rude living, poor shelter, and harsh food, he claims, are already on the wane.

Our teeth, he maintains, are becoming softer, our jaws smaller and our digestive

organs weaker since we live so largely upon soft and cooked foods. He prophesies that the man and woman of the future will be smaller in stature, since the need for physical strength will grow less and less. Soon man will be a toothless animal, small of mouth and frail of limb.

Everybody knows that civilized man's sense of smell is inferior to the olfactory requirements of our savage ancestors. We no longer feel the need of sniffing our foods for death-dealing poisons before eating them. Possibly flat noses and negligible chins will be marks of beauty in the future.

It may be that Dr. Robins is right when he insists that man, in his present form, is a relic of a former environment and that our children's children will differ from us very materially. It is to be hoped, however, that they will not disown us utterly when that change comes and we have sunk into the far-away "barbaric ages of the dim past." It might indeed be well to take old Time by the forelock and organize a society for the Preservation of Twentieth Century Characteristics before it is too late.

Personally I dislike to think of the chinless and toothless "beauties" of the future generations mating with the ponderous-

The Variability of Animals Under Changed Environment

By D. A. Appleby, Ph. D.

brained, spindle-bodied males that Dr. Robins anticipates. One trembles to forecast the results. Possibly in the realm of biology I would turn my eyes backward to the Greek ideal of the human body rather than to a portrait of the future man as painted by Dr. Robins.

Within thirty years after the death of Charles Darwin, the scientists who followed in his footsteps had proved beyond question that the species are variable. As Kropotkin says, they had shown that:

"Every single characteristic of a plant or animal may be altered in the long run provided there is sufficient variation in all directions and an acute struggle for existence. All the wonderful adaptations of both plants and animals to their surroundings can be explained by natural selection which preserves those features that are useful to the organism in its struggle for life."

Darwin himself discovered that plants and animals actually altered in changed surroundings and said that such changes might lead to new varieties and races and eventually into new species.

Under pressure of new requirements, it has been found that organs begin to perform new functions. This new work modifies them so as to render them more capable of transforming these functions. The lower forms change most rapidly.

Wallace conducted interesting experiments with aquatic cave species that soon grew accustomed to living very well without light of any kind. Their eyes became useless after a prolonged stay in the darkness. Being susceptible to disease and sensitive to injury, he believed the eyes would soon disappear altogether.

Darwin found that totally blind cave rats gained a slight sense of perception to light after one month. He also gathered much interesting data to show how aquatics developed an amazing sense of touch and smell in an equally short time when placed into a new environment.

Vire took several crustaceans from various places from an underground river. They were characterized by total loss of the eye, the optical nerve and optical lobe but were capable of taking notice of luminous impressions. These he placed in tanks in the open light. After a few months stay in the light, black spots began to appear on the crustaceans. These grew

rapidly darker and darker and swift changes developed in the structure. And vice versa. In the dark caves, the light dwellers rapidly lost their distinctive features. Inhabitants of our ponds and ditches assumed some of the characteristics of cave-dwellers under changed environment.

When the scientist undertook the metamorphosis of the Axolotl into Amblystome, it was necessary to attain the transportation of its respiratory organs from external gills to internal lungs. Dumeril tried to provoke the metamorphosis by cutting off the gills. Mlle. de Chauvin succeeded, probably because she fed her animals well. All of the Axolotls she experimented upon took to the land life and were transformed into Amblystomes.

Dr. Przibram's experiments showed that living crabs divested of their hard, protecting shells, after one month in the water, began to exhibit shortening abdomens, the skin covering over which grew visibly tougher day by day.

A graduate student who was studying the natives of South America and their customs, recently discovered some of the tribes that had, a few generations before, taken to living in the mountains after much conflict with their neighbors.

In the rarefied atmosphere in which they lived, 10,000 feet above sea level, it was a physical impossibility for them to inhale enough oxygen through their nostrils to feed the lungs. All were forced to mouth breathing. Although very small in stature these natives have developed an enormous breadth of chest. The air is taken directly into the lungs. And the nostrils have already almost closed or dried up through lack of functioning.

It was said that upon descending to sea level, these tribes died off at an appalling rate from tuberculosis, or other lung diseases. No matter where they went, they continued to gulp the fever infested, germ or dirt laden air directly into the lungs.

We cannot agree with the gloomy prognosticators who feel that now that man has attained to a triumph over his environment, he will begin to deteriorate physically. Rather, is it our hope that he will, having at last, *in a measure*, become the master of his life, build it to evolve the greatest measures of joy and comfort to himself and to all mankind.



MEETING OF TIMBER WORKERS, NOVEMBER 12, 1912. J. W. KELLY, SPEAKER.

With the Southern Timber Workers

By Covington Hall

ON NOVEMBER 11, 1912, thirteen hundred members of the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers, I. W. W., voted to go on strike unless the American Lumber Co. of Merryville, La., a subsidiary concern of the Santa Fe Railroad, withdrew its order discharging and blacklisting fifteen men who had appeared, as witnesses and otherwise, in the Grabow Trial. This order the Santa Fe refused to rescind and every last worker on the plant and in the woods walked out. The Santa Fe and the Southern Lumber Operators' Association then issued an order blacklisting the entire 1,300, which, however, they have not been able to make stick, as labor, on account of low wages, long hours, brutality of gunmen, smallpox, meningitis and other terrible conditions is scarce and hard to get.

Through November, December, January and up to February 16th, the strike was peacefully maintained, the UNION per-

suading the strikebreakers to leave as fast as the company brought them in. This did not suit the Santa Fe and, on that date, a mob of about 300, composed of businessmen, gunmen, scabs and other employes of the Santa Fe and American Lumber Co., all drunk on prohibition whiskey and styling themselves the "Good Citizens League of Merryville," was let loose on the defenseless Unionists and a reign of terror that has not yet ended was inaugurated.

This mob first seized Fellowworkers Charles Cline, local secretary, and Charles Deeney, who was in charge of the soup-kitchen, gave them a terrible beating and drove them out of town with orders not to return under penalty of death. Next it tore down the tent in which the soupkitchen was run, pulling it down on the heads of the women fellowworkers who were in it at the time, slashed it to pieces and shipped it, with part of the contents of the Union Hall, which the mob also raided, to De-

Ridder, La., about twenty miles away.

Then the mob turned on all the most active Union men, slugging several badly, and ordered them to leave town under penalty of death. Men drifting into the town, who had never heard of the Union or the strike, were seized, thrown into jail, brought into "court" and given the option of going to work for the American Lumber Co. or being run out of town.

Be it said to the eternal honor of the hoboes, the last one of them chose the last option rather than scab on their fellow-workers, though many were frightfully misused by the Santa Fe's thugs for refusing. Persons on the ground at the time describe the saturnalia of violence as beyond words to picture. On the night of February 16th, they say, whiskey-crazed scabs and gunmen, black as well as white, were everywhere running amuck, clubbing and shoving pump guns and high-power rifles into the faces of every man and boy suspected of the crime of belonging to the Union or of sympathizing with it.

The leaders of this mob were: T. J. Coggins, special agent of the Santa Fe, one "Captain" Evans, "ex" of the notorious Texas Rangers, who claimed to represent "Judge" J. W. Terry of the Santa Fe in charge of the American Lumber Company, "Doctor" J. L. Knight, who had skinned the boys so fiercely that they refused to consider him when they had forced from the old manager the right to elect their physicians; B. "Hawk" Carroll, cockroach banker; Gilbert Hennigan, cockroach merchant; Jim Mitchell, shipping clerk, and Supt. Geo. Walden of the American Lumber Company; L. C. Bishop, cockroach merchant; W. P. Windham, postmaster of Merryville; W. E. Smith and "Captain" Johnson, scab-herders for the Santa Fe, and "Deputy Sheriffs" Fred Hamilton and Kinney Reid, Jr., so you can see that all "our best citizens" were arrayed against the "lawless I. W. W."

But, somehow or other, for some strange reason, the WORKERS stuck closer than ever to the blacklisted UNION and, so, at this writing, the mills are still down and likely to rot on their foundations unless the Santa Fe and the association come to terms. The part played by the women in

this struggle, no words can praise too highly. When the men were all deported, led by Fellow-worker Fredonia Stevenson, who has been ordered out of the town, they took up the battle and truly fought as their pioneer mothers fought in the days of old. Their splendid resistance has done more than all else to loco the "heroes" of the "Good Citizens' League," and to hold the mills down, and THEY will win the strike as sure as the sun goes down if their sisters on the outside will aid them with food and clothing. This surely is not much to ask and something ALL LABOR owes these warrior women who are holding at bay one of the most infamous enemies of UNIONISM on earth, the British Plunderbund called the Santa Fe Railroad System.

Why doesn't the Union appeal to the Governor of Louisiana for protection against all this lawlessness? He, like the Governor of West Virginia, is nothing but a "Reformer," a servile tool of the Lumber Trust. He has BEEN appealed to and he has not even backed, or offered to back Socialist Mayor Presley of DeRidder, La., the ONLY public officer in Louisiana who has ever tried to do his sworn duty, against the thugs of the Long-Bell Lumber Company. They demanded Presley's resignation because he refused to issue a proclamation prohibiting a mass meeting that had been called by the Union, and tried to run him out of town.

Here in Louisiana, the "state," as in West Virginia, beyond being a legalized gun-toter for the Lumber, Sugar, Cotton and Railroad Kings, is making this fight, at Merryville, a straight stand-up fight between the WORKERS and CAPITALISTS, between the INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY and the INDUSTRIAL DESPOTISM, with no quarter asked, expected or given.

ALL who love FREEDOM and the WORKING CLASS will, therefore, go to the aid of the striking lumber jacks at Merryville, who, men and women, white and colored, native born and foreign, are standing shoulder to shoulder, as WORKERS should, fighting for the overthrow of peonage, the building of a FREE SOUTH, doing all that in them lies, to advance the cause of the only class worth serving, the WORKING CLASS.

Public Speaking

By Grace Silver

Effective Presentation of a Subject

Part Six

Lecturing

LET us assume that the speaker really has something to say, that he has studied economics and working conditions and that he understands Socialism. He now faces the problem of presenting his subject in the most logical, convincing manner.

Let him remember at the start that a line of argument which appeals to him personally may not appeal to the average person in his audience; the methods by which he arrived at a given conclusion may not bring others to the same end; therefore he must put himself in the place of the farmer, the mechanic or the unemployed, and consider what would most appeal to him if instead of being himself he were one of them. He must become one with his audience. Let him remember that he is not speaking for the purpose of convincing or amusing himself. Still less is he on the platform for the purpose of showing his audience what a great and brilliant man he is.

Some orators wave their hand in a certain direction and their auditors follow like sheep. But the next week another orator may appear, wave his hand in the opposite direction, and they turn back. Neither laid the foundation for their appeal in sound logic. It is not the place of a Socialist speaker to cajole or threaten or to compel his audience to think as he does. It is his business to stimulate people to independent thought, to let them judge and decide for themselves. Audiences do not like to have their prejudices and beliefs overthrown; but if it must be done they want to feel that their own reasoning and not the speaker's argument is responsible for the change.

Consider, then, the real purpose of a speech. What is the goal, the final effect one wishes to attain? Is it to convey information, purely as information; to give a plain statement of fact without personal

comment or bias? Then *clearness* is the end in view. If he be a scientific lecturer this may be the sole end, but if he be speaking from the Socialist platform, it will be merely a means to an end. He will wish to make his audience not only see as he sees, but *feel* as well. He will want to make his facts impressive.

In certain lines of speaking *impressiveness* is the end to be sought. In Socialist work it is of very great importance, yet it, too, is only a means to an end. An audience must not only know that there are preventable accidents, child labor, or whatever phase of capitalism one may mention; they must be made to suffer in consequence. Their emotions must be aroused, their souls stirred to the depths. A simple statement of fact is seldom sufficient.

The Socialist speaker must convince. The matter presented must become a reality to the listener. He must say to himself, "That is so"; he must agree that the course of action presented by the speaker is the best. The speaker has secured for his ideas acceptance. In this case, *belief* is the end sought. Clearness and impressiveness are demanded as aids to conviction.

The lecturer must go further and secure *action*. Having convinced people that he is right, he must point the way to class balloting, class organization, or the class strike. The man who is already convinced that the principles advocated by the speaker are right needs only to be shown *how* to act. He needs little urging. Hence the statement of a prominent Socialist, "I do not tell men how to vote, I tell them of the class struggle so that they may *know* without being told."

It is impossible to give, within the limited space of this article, a complete account of all the means used to attain these ends. Students who wish to go into the matter

in detail should consult "Effective Speaking," by Arthur Edward Phillips (Chicago: The Newton Company).

Foremost of the various means of attaining one's end is reference to events within the listener's personal experience, or to matters accepted by him as facts. This allows him to use his own thinking powers, and he sees, feels, or does the thing desired of him of his own free will. Refer him to his own stock of knowledge, to his own experience—not to the speaker's. Use familiar illustrations; compare what is unknown to something known. If impressiveness is the end sought, compare your ideas with those ideas of the listener which have the necessary emotional significance. If you wish to convince a person that a thing of which he knows nothing exists, or must exist in the future, draw comparisons between it and something which he already accepts as a fact. If you are attempting to prove that Socialism is inevitable, for instance, do not base your argument on hazy, ethical grounds, trace the growth of the machine process and the development of the trust. Compare the unknown to the known, the unfelt to the felt, the unaccepted to the accepted.

When you desire *action*, consider what motives would be most apt to induce your listeners to act along the lines you wish. Phillips names seven impelling motives: *self-preservation*, surely a powerful appeal to the working class; *property*, the desire for ownership; *power*, political or industrial—the right to own and control one's life, or job; *reputation*, *affections*, *sentiments*, *tastes*.

Then, too, the speaker must not neglect the matter of interesting his audience. He must instruct, but he must also entertain. Things are interesting if they are vital to his central idea, or if they are unusual; while comparisons between things similar, and contrasts between those which are antagonistic, relieve a speech of tediousness. One cannot be too interesting to be effective, but one may overdo himself, if not careful, and become a comedian.

"Next in importance to the principle of Reference to Experience, and closely related to it, is the principle of cumulation. Cumulation is a 'heaping up,' a succession of statements bearing upon the same

point."* By a succession of details and illustrations, it draws the attention of the audience again and again to the original statement till the required end is attained. These impressions all emphasize and add to the first, and each emphasizes and adds to those preceding. The speaker must have ready for instant use all the facts and details pertaining to his particular aim. He must know when to use and when not to use cumulative argument. Rightly used, it is invaluable, wrongly used, it wearies and disgusts.

Choose as the central idea one that appeals to you, which makes you eager to develop it. But do not attempt to cover every phase of the subject in one speech. "Socialism" as a subject would be impossible to handle. One must limit the scope of the central idea by a statement of his aim, as, "Socialism is the next step in Evolution" or "Socialism is a class movement." This gives the audience some idea of what is to come, of what the speaker will attempt to prove, and compels the speaker to confine himself within bounds. The fault of many speakers is their inability to choose a good subject, or to stick to it when chosen.

Having chosen his subject and stated his aim, the speaker must arrange his material in proper order to secure the greatest effect. It is not enough to simply "get it in." One statement or line of argument necessarily follows another. Each has its proper place in the speech; if put anywhere else it is out of place and ineffective. Use only the most necessary sub-ideas—those which add to and develop the central idea. Keep in mind constantly the final end sought. Use no superfluous words or phrases. You have no time for that. A sculptor uses no unnecessary strokes of his chisel in carving a statue; neither should the speaker in developing his central idea. Be concise. Weigh every bit of material to be used and judge as to whether or not it will carry your audience further along the line you wish them to travel.

Very many otherwise good speakers have neglected to study the art of successfully closing a speech. Laboriously they work up to a successful climax—and still keep on talking, explaining their climax. The speaker appears afraid to sit down. Others ignore the closing altogether, quitting unceremoniously when their time expires.

*Phillips.

The character of the speech, its purpose, will of course determine the style and character of the peroration. To neglect the proper closing of one's speech is as dis-

courteous as to leave a friend abruptly in the middle of a conversation. It renders most of the speaker's previous effort futile and leaves the audience "up in the air."



Our Private Sleuth

ART YOUNG has succeeded in securing for *The Masses* the co-operation of this expert private detective. His task will be to aid us in our work of ferreting out the undesirables in the Socialist party. We ask our readers to join with us in this great mission, and help us make effective the efforts of this gentleman, who has a genius for his line of work that might be described as almost canine. With a little financial support, we shall be able to locate a dictagraph in the home of every prominent Socialist in the country, and we can assure our readers of a general clean-up within the next three months.

Do you suspect your comrade? Don't trust him for a moment. Don't risk the great cause! Send your suspicions with whatever clue you can furnish to the *Dictagraph Editor*, Masses Publishing Company, 150 Nassau Street, New York. Send contributions toward the Dictagraph Fund to the same address.

Up to the hour of going to press our detective's report is as follows:

Comrade Joseph Weephowski of local Piketown was seen passing money to a capitalist in broad daylight on January 3, 1913. His resignation has been accepted.

Comrade Edgar Must of local Balls Bridge has proven traitor to the cause. He said that Karl Marx was an opportunist, and that his whiskers were indefensible upon any ground. He is charged with aiding and abetting the Progressive Party, and has been asked to resign at once.

Comrade Cheesewright of local Hogg's Corners, a member of the Hired Man's Union, is charged with feeding garlic to his employer's cattle during a milk strike. Under Article III, Section 6, he is expelled from the party for Sabotage, Crime, and Violence.

Comrade Sophia Soapbox of ranch 23, Local Pittsburgh, has been placed on trial for calling comrade Spoutface a liar and an idealist. She will be suspended for a period of five months, pending investigation.

Comrade Graball of the Doorknobbors' Union was seen at a meeting of the Door-Jammers and was caught talking to a member of the Brotherhood of Gatehangers. This taken in connection with the fact that his wife is a sister of the janitor for the Amalgamated Panellers, is regarded by our detective as proof of the fact that he has Industrial Union tendencies and is probably meditating the general strike.

Comrade Hornblower, member of the Assembly from local Tombstone, stated in a meeting of the judiciary committee, that there ought to be a law against feeding strychnine to babies under two years of age. He will be recalled and dismissed from the local for this evidence of rank compromise with bourgeois reform sentiment.

Comrade Perkins of local Sykes Hollow was caught in swimming without a union label. Charges have been preferred against him.—From *The Masses*.



THE NEW WAY OF HARVESTING IN ARGENTINA—FROM THE HUSK INTO THE BAGS.

The New Harvester

Another "Job-Killer"

By Winden E. Frankweiler

ONE of the hardest jobs of the farm hands is the work on the threshing machine, which separate the grain from the straw. In the northern part of the United States and in Canada the threshing time falls in the early part of winter, while in the southern hemisphere, for instance, in Argentina, threshing begins in December, which is midsummer there.

The work itself is not so very fatiguing, the excessive long hours and bad conditions during the work and rest, strain and discourage the men.

Early in the morning, long before sunrise, the steam whistle announces the time to get up, while late in the evening, by moonshine or artificial light, the threshing machine is still busy. This is so because the threshing machine boss is paid by the weight of the separated grain, and "naturally" tries to get out of the men as much as possible. So it means 16 to 18 hours of practically continuous work either in bitter cold and deep snow or terrible heat, not to forget the dirt and dust produced by the separator, which the workers must inhale. On the top of that frequently come poor food and small pay, especially so in Argentina.

And where do you think the men sleep? A farmhand once asked the owner of a big ranch for a place to sleep and got the typical answer: "I own 25,000 acres of land so I hope you will be able to find a 'place to sleep.'" Only imagine a cold night with rain or snow and practically no shelter. In the southern part of the globe, where nature is more generous in this regard, the mosquitos rob the workers of the half of the much needed rest.

A new machine is coming now which will liberate the workers from that drudgery, but, alas, this machine, called "The Harvester," is not an exception to the rule.

These modern inventions do not make work easier; they take the job altogether.

To give a clear idea what this new machine means to farmhands and mechanics, I must explain the modern method of harvesting cereal.

A machine called the binder and which is pulled by horses, cuts the stalks of the wheat, etc., binds them into bundles, which it disposes alongside while moving over the field. These bundles are put together in small heaps of 4 or 5 and later on gathered to be piled up into large stacks.

There is also another system in use where the machine cuts only the ears of the cereal



THE OLD WAY—SEPARATING THE GRAIN FROM THE HUSK.

plants and deposits them into a wagon which, when loaded, will go at once to the stack.

To perform this work at least 5 to 6 men and 6 to 8 horses are necessary.

The grain remains on the stacks at least 2 weeks to "sweat" or until the thresher comes along.

As the threshing machine outfit consists of the grain separator proper, a steam or oil engine to drive it and also a water-wagon and a kitchenwagon, it is much too expensive for the average farmer to buy. So the whole combination together with the gang has to move from farm to farm.

The engine and the separator are placed alongside the stack and several men deposit the bundles or the ears upon a rolling gangway which conveys them into the separator. The grain falls then into bags on one side while the straw is thrown out on the other side of the separator.

To keep the threshing machine going, several horses and up to 15 or 20 men are needed.

Now let us see what the "Harvester" machine can do. It harvests in the real sense of the word; it cuts off the ears, separates and bags the grain in one single operation and, if necessary, one man alone can handle and attend the machine.

So a farmer owning 150 to 250 acres can easily bring in his wheat, oats or barley without any outside help. He drives the "Harvester," his 14 year old boy takes off the full bags and puts on empty ones, while his wife sews the bags.

As a harvester is not much more expensive than a binder, the average farmer

will be able to buy one. What are the farmhands going to do then?

There seems to be one disadvantage with the harvester, which is, that the grain has no chance to "sweat" on the stacks, and therefore turns out a little pale. The farmers get a trifle less for it, but the "Harvester" saves such a lot of labor (and therefore money)—which is the principle to-day,—that its success is assured.

For some reason the "Harvester" is not much in use yet in the United States, probably because the International Harvester Company does not yet control its patents. But in South America, and especially in the middle part of Argentina, the "Harvester" is rapidly coming into general use. Thousands of them are imported every year from Australia and Canada. On some big ranges as many as 100 of them are used. This shows that the machine in question undoubtedly has passed the experimental stage and has proved to be successful and satisfactory.

Not only the agricultural workers will be affected by the coming of this machine. As the manufacture of the "Harvester" takes about the same amount of work as the binder, so the machinists that build the many thousands of oil or steam engines and separators every year, will be out of a job.

Furthermore the great number of machinists and engineers who attend to the steam engines and separators during the threshing time will no more be needed.—What are they going to do?

We have here a typical example of how rapidly modern science works, and how

fast one labor-saving device eliminates the other. In many parts of Europe the old method of harvesting is still in use. They mow by hand with the scythe; make the bundles by hand; bring the bundles into the barn and finally thresh the grain out by hand with the flail, while in some parts of the new world the modern system of cutting with the binder and separating with powerful engines is already outdated.

Now, what good does a new machine like that do the workingman in our present system of society?

It will throw many thousands of laborers out of jobs and make them hunt for

new ones, which, of course, will effect a pressure upon wages. On the other hand a great number of men will be forced to leave the country in which they are born for other regions, to lead the hard life of a colonist.

How different it will be in the coming industrial democracy. The masses will celebrate and welcome every new invention that does the hard work for them, for they will cut down the working hours and so save more time to be used according to each individual's taste and inclination.

What are you going to do to bring this new state of things about?

Transport Workers Join I. W. W.

By Grover H. Perry

THE Marine Firemen Oilers and Water Tenders' Union, with 25,000 members has voted to become a part of the Industrial Workers of the World. They come into the I. W. W. as trained fighters having behind them in their own organization a record for militant methods and tactics.

Their entrance as a part of the I. W. W. starts a new page in the history of the transportation industry. The Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders were the backbone of the transportation federation's great strike on the Atlantic seaboard a year ago. They have been pointed out by all who preach that the industrial union of the future would not come from the I. W. W., as a shining example. The influence they have with the other marine transportation organizations cannot be overestimated. Already the Atlantic coast union is waning. The International Seamen's Union lost its grip a year ago and today the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders are the dominant features in the marine transportation industry.

Their slogan of "100,000 members in 1913," has traveled the length of the Atlantic coast. In Galveston, Texas; New Orleans, La.; Savannah, Ga.; Charleston, S. C., organizations have been formed and all these locals are in keen rivalry with the New York local which has set the record-

breaking pace of 100 new members per day. The motto of "One Big Union for Marine Transportation Workers," has taken hold like wild-fire. Sailors, cooks, stevedores, engineers and firemen are joining together. By June, 1913, it is expected there will be a membership of at least 50,000. Before long the agitation will spread to the Pacific coast. The Great Lakes are ready now. They have tasted of the impotency of the American Federation and it is bitter in their mouths.

What does it all portend. Already rumblings are heard from the members of the railroad brotherhoods. Organization work on railroads is starting with construction gangs and here and there a shop local. The brotherhood members are only held because of the high insurance and benefit which they expect to collect from the union, while any practical insurance expert will tell you that because of this high insurance the railroad brotherhoods cannot hope to survive 20 years more.

The membership is waking up to this fact and before long we may expect breaks in the brotherhoods. Economic pressure and constructive agitation are working hand in hand.

The Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders have led the way. Soon others will follow. The Industrial Workers of the World looks like a winner.

Washington State Convention

THE State Convention of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington was held in Tacoma March 8th to 12th.

In making his report, Frans Bostrom, State Secretary said, in part, as follows:

The charge has been made that we cannot harmonize the factions of the party. . . . The charge is true. We have never attempted to carry water on both shoulders. In a true democracy the only right that can be conceded a minority without robbing the majority is to try to educate the majority into the views of the minority.

The following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, that the convention desires to point out that the factional fights that have rent our organization from time to time are merely a reflex of the diverse material interests that are admitted to our organization and that while we preach on the outside the class struggle as the basic foundation of the socialist movement, with the irresistible force of economic determinism as the moving factor, we have not sufficiently guarded against such forces working destruction within our organization; and be it further

Resolved, that as the socialist movement is admitted to be primarily a working class movement, founded upon the needs and necessities of the wage slave, with its final aim the overthrow and complete destruction of the capitalist wage system, we therefore urge upon our members the vital necessity of choosing our candidates, committeemen and other party officials wherever and whenever possible from among those members whose chief source of existence rests upon the sale of their labor power for wages, and that we further recommend and advise that those members of the socialist party who are not of and from the bona fide wage working class can aid greatly in the maintenance of harmony, peace and progress of the organization as well as testifying to real loyalty to the working class by allowing the real slaves of capital full freedom in planning the work of their own emancipation. The test of their socialism will be shown in their willingness to assist and support those plans without desiring to dominate or control the ideas and efforts of the working class members.

Advocate Industrial Unionism.

The following resolution was concurred in by committee and convention:

Since the socialist movement is based upon the class struggle, which is the direct clash of interests between the working class which sells its labor power in order to live, and the

capitalist class which buys labor power from which to make profits, it is our concern to uphold the interests of the workers on the industrial field in the struggle. Therefore, since the economic power of the organized workers forms the basis for political power of the working class, it is our duty to assist the workers to organize industrially to overthrow capitalism.

This convention of the socialist party of Washington, wishes to go on record as most vigorously protesting against the means and methods used to effect the recall of Comrade William D. Haywood from the national executive committee of the socialist party.

He was recalled through the means of Sec. 6, Art. 2, of which we seriously question the validity, since the substitute section was adopted by the membership on the same referendum, but not put into the constitution. We question its utility since so many members of the party and party press advise working men and women to agitate socialism in the shop where they work, taking up some of the labor time they sell to the boss, thereby diminishing his profits, and constituting a form of sabotage.

On the recall referendum ballot a fake statement was printed against Haywood, in the words, "He had never advocated the use of the ballot by the workers." Also on the ballot was a ready-made conviction, that Haywood had violated Sec. 6, Art. 2, of the national constitution, when it was for the membership to decide that point.

Therefore, we object to the decision arrived at under unfair methods in effecting Haywood's recall.

Politicians Quit.

It is deplorable to report that when the Washington politicians discovered that they could not control the convention, they left the party. Comrades write us that these seceders have said they would start a Socialist Party (dual union) of their own. Since their aim seems to be the grabbing of office, instead of educating the workers in the class struggle and scientific Socialism, we predict that their movement will be built upon the sands.

We want to congratulate the revolutionists in the party once more. Evolution and all the processes of industry are with you. You are building upon the firm foundation of the class struggle. Whether you are in a class-conscious state or not, stick to the party. The Progressives are going to take all the planks from under the Reformist's feet. The planks of real Socialism will remain.

Sex Sterilization

By Eva Trew

A SEXUALIZATION or sterilization of undesirables is the recent cure-all advanced by science and millionaire philanthropists as a solution for what they believe to be the greatest menace to society, namely—the increasing number of defectives, incapables, and paupers.

In view of the fact that nine states* have passed legislation permitting sterilization of criminals, defectives and the unfit, and the state of Indiana already has caused eight hundred such operations to be performed, it becomes a question of importance to the general public to determine

Who Are the Unfit?

Dr. C. B. Davenport of the Carnegie Institute of Washington, an enthusiastic advocate of this remedy for eliminating human undesirables, finds "in the absence of the instinct for hoarding, the surest signs of the outfit; those whose kind, for the good of society, should not be perpetuated." He adds further, "As man spread to the North, those strains that had not acquired the sense of property rights and tended to invade the stores of others, were always in danger of being cut off. Defectiveness is thus a persistent infantile condition of one or more characteristics."

Yet in view of modern machinery which has forced production to be accomplished *socially* by bringing together large armies of workers who must produce a commodity by their combined efforts, would not this instinct for individual hoarding prove anti-social?

The traits which marked man as "fit" in the early periods of existence when the earth rendered niggardly returns to the ignorant savage, could not with justice be applied to present day conditions when production goes forward on such a gigantic scale that we must seek foreign markets

for our surplus products, thus it would seem, rendering it a mark of the "unfit" to "invade the stores of others."

It is interesting to note that while the remedy to be applied is modern, the offense to be eradicated is as old as the history of private property,—namely, poverty and its effects.

In defining the class eligible for this operation there is a unanimity of opinion which harmonizes with the ancient definition of an idiot; i. e., "one who cannot count or number 20 pence or know what shall be for his profit or loss."

In a country that has so unmistakably enthroned the dollar above all else, it is scarcely to be wondered, if the distinguishing mark of imbecility is for one not to know "what shall be for his profit or loss"; or, that he shall be classed as "unfit" if he "has not developed the sense of property rights"; yet in view of the fact that our wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a few, with an increasing tendency to lessen the number in control, a corresponding increase in the number of property-less persons, or those who, seemingly "have not developed the sense of property rights," will be marked as candidates for sterilization.

In keeping with this, Mr. John Harris in the *Westminster Review*, July, 1912, classes among defectives, "feeble minded persons capable of earning their living under favorable circumstances, but incapable of competing with their fellows."

So alluring is the idea of thus neatly disposing of the marred victims of our social order, that Dr. Barr, in his work "Mental Defectives," advocates the sterilization of young children of the indigent classes. He says, "let asexualization be once legalized, not as a penalty for crime, but as a remedial measure preventing crime; let the practice once become common for young children immediately upon being adjudged defective, and the public mind will

*The following states have passed the Sterilization law: Indiana, Washington, Colorado, Connecticut, Nevada, Iowa, New Jersey, New York and Oregon.

accept it as an effective means of race preservation."

This in face of the finding of Dr. Thomas D. Wood, professor of physical education in the Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, which states that "of the 20,000,000 school children in this country, not less than 75 per cent need attention today for physical defects which are prejudicial to mental and bodily health and which are partially or completely remedial."

The advocates of sterilization are believers in the theory that the germ-plasm carries with it the destiny of the individual, which remains impervious to the influence of environment to any appreciable degree.

Yet, at the international convention of physicians and surgeons heard last year in London, the leading obstetrical authorities of the world agreed almost unanimously that the proportion of children born healthy among the poor is as great as among the rich. Even at the expense of the mother's life the unborn child will claim its nutrition. Deterioration often takes place after birth on account of poor food and unsanitary conditions.

M. Bertillon says, "of 1,000 children born among the rich, 943 are alive at the end of five years, while of 1,000 children born among the poor only 655 are alive at the end of five years."

Since the defective children of the rich will, as always, be cared for in luxurious private sanitariums, this operation is obviously to apply to children of the working class who are unable to render profits to their employers in the mills, mines and workshops.

Looking to the increased efficiency of the children employed in the southern cotton mills, Mr. John D. Rockefeller has appropriated \$1,000,000 to be used in abolishing the *hook worm*, which is, according to scientific experts, the cause of their inability to respond to the speeding up of the machines.

On April 3, 1910, at the convention of cotton manufacturers held at Memphis, Tenn., Dr. Stiles of the Hook Worm Commission was present and told the cotton manufacturers he had been sent there to bring together the children of the "poor whites" to be treated for the hook worm.

What with the scientific eugenicists and the millionaire philanthropists the children

of the poor must either be exterminated or developed into the "super-man."

The fact that consumption sweeps them away like a ferocious blast, that their average life in the mills is but four years, and that out of 1,000 only 23 could read or write, seems not to have aroused in these defenders of the social good any fear that child labor might be a menace to society."

All agitation for a national child-labor law has been resisted on the plea of "state sovereignty" and "non-interference with the liberties of the people," yet there have been occasions when the welfare of the nation has prompted united action in order to ward off threatened disaster. Such was the case when it was found that the adulteration of whisky was so great that "of 60,000,000 gallons of whisky made in Kentucky annually, only 15,000,000 gallons are pure."

This was promptly recognized as a "menace to society," by eminent statesmen and politicians all over the country with the gratifying result that suitable legislation was enacted in the form of the national pure food and drug laws.

WHO ARE THE CRIMINALS.

After the definition of imbeciles who are to be emasculated we find among the same authorities a consensus of opinion as to what constitutes a criminal.

Sir Alfred Wills defines them thus: "Those who calculate and accept its risk; who have utterly ceased to work and who never mean to work again. Such men are hopeless."

I might add in parenthesis that to the ordinary citizen unskilled in the science of criminology, it would seem that crime is seizing a personal advantage, out of a common good.

However, accepting the definition of a criminal as given by Sir Alfred Wills there occurs an embarrassing problem.

All unwittingly the definition includes the entire class of the leisure rich.

As the two extremes of the circle meet, so these two classes of upper and lower delinquents dispute at every turn the right to fill the requirements for "professional criminals" according to these experts.

The similarity is marked in a like proclivity to "calculate and accept its risk," likewise in a refusal to work.

Both exhibit an utter disregard for the welfare of others. Both have developed the lust for acquisition without production, of appropriation without serviceability, and the success of both depends upon cupidity, cunning and rapacity.

Neither class is ashamed of profitable idleness. Both unscrupulously convert all goods to their own ends.

W. S. Lilly in the *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, August, 1912, in referring to criminals of this description (meaning presumably, those who have not acquired wealth), says, "they should be deported to some island and reduced to a state of industrial serfdom in which they should earn their own substance . . . a stern discipline should be enforced, the chief instruments of which would be the lash and reduced rations for the mutinous."

Barring the lash and reduced rations, this treatment of compelling both these classes to earn their substance in productive labor might result in much good to the large army of working men, women and children whose labor supports them both.

While we are far from being able to control biological laws, the distribution of wealth, however, is under the direct control of laws for which the national conscience is responsible.

The science of eugenics is, comparatively, a new study.

Since Sir Francis Galton first used the word in 1904 in connection with the improved culture of sweet peas, we have by no means covered the vast amount of research necessary to arrive at an exact means for bettering the human race.

There is in every state a law making it a criminal offense to prevent conception, and now that more legislation is being enacted to arbitrarily enforce sterilization on certain classes, there would seem to be little remaining in the way of free choice in the exercise of this important function. The obvious intent of the legislation enacted in favor of sterilization, is to eliminate from society those unwilling or unable to work—or to render profits to their employers.

Such is the claim, at least, of that branch of the working class known as the "Syndicalists," who openly advocate "race suicide" in order that they be the stronger to

fight for their industrial freedom, while at the same time cutting down the profit which the employer extorts from the children of the workers.*

Havelock Ellis states in the *Yale Review*, April, 1911, that, "paupers tend to marry with other pauper families. By the sacrifice of the procreative power on the part of those who are unable to work in the world, we shall be able in a single generation largely to remove one of the most serious taints in our civilization. Besides the obvious burden in money and social machinery which the protection they need casts upon the community, they dilute the spiritual atmosphere of the community."

Yet paupers cannot absorb from society more than it takes to clothe, feed and house them, whereas, according to the recent investigation of the "money trust" it costs society \$25,000,000,000 to maintain 180 men who are administering the financial affairs of the nation—for their own special benefit.

The instinct of the strong to help the weak is cited by Darwin in "The Descent of Man," as the distinguishing trait of those birds and animals which proved best fitted to survive.

He says, "the fittest are not the physically strongest nor the cunningest, but those who learn to combine so as mutually to support each other, strong and weak alike."

That eminent English Sociologist, Carl Pierson, finds the children of drunkards to be not inferior in intelligence, stature or health to the children of sober parents; but from the standpoint of justice has not the drunkard as much right to transmit his dominant traits to society as has the avaricious lord of wealth to bequeath to posterity his rapacity and greed in the form of swollen fortunes?

Have we not more occasion to view with alarm Mrs. Harriman's expressed intention to found a school for the purpose of training young men in the business tactics of her late husband?

The group instinct of the working class is manifesting a social conscience diametrically opposed to the elimination of the weak by the strong, as is shown in the ethics of the labor unions to strike when an incompetent workman is discharged.

"One for all and all for one," is their motto.

*From "Syndicalism," by E. C. Ford and Wm. Z. Foster:

The theory that the destiny of the individual lies wholly in the germ plasm, is the ever recurring doctrine of fatalism which manifests itself when man abandons belief in his ability to cope with the laws of nature.

The well-known fatalism of the agriculturist is fast disappearing with the advent of scientific farming and exact knowledge of irrigation; besides, are we not yet too grossly ignorant of the complex mental and physical manifestations which may with accuracy determine who are the unfit?

Even the pestiferous bat, has justified its right to existence, as it was by studying the wing of this little creature which is able to send out vibrations and receive an echo, that Sir Hiram Maxim has constructed an apparatus to prevent collisions at sea.

The dividing line between insanity and genius has not yet been determined.

The "divine ecstasy" of a Swedenborg was only a "fit" according to the normal or mediocre observer, while the consumptive Chopin, the greatest tone poet the world has yet produced, inspired Schumann to exclaim, "Hats off, gentlemen, a genius!"

Oscar Wilde died in prison but the "Ballad of Reading Gaol," is the treasured property of all mankind.

Mozart proved "unfit" and was buried in a pauper's grave, but for a hundred years the world has listened with delight to the idyllic strains of the "Magic Flute."

The composer of "Traumerei" died in a mad house, while the great Russian writer, Dostoyevsky, was an epileptic.

It would also seem untimely to advocate the selection of "criminals" deserving of

this mutilation, at a time when criminologists themselves are coming to the conclusion that the criminal is a "manufactured product"—the product of society.

Lombroso says, "the political criminal is the true precursor of the progressive movement of humanity."

As the divine art of music has found in the humble cat-gut a vehicle of expression, so chemistry proclaims there is no dirt, and botany admits no weed.

Is it not therefore probable that our social and economic institutions, when fairly adjusted to give equal opportunity to all, will be the means of proving that, to the human race, there shall be no outcast?

The final test of a democracy is in its humblest citizen; and the group instinct of the race is, not that the weak shall be sacrificed that the strong may become stronger, but that the strong shall protect the weak and thus evolve the strongest arm in the preservation of the race.

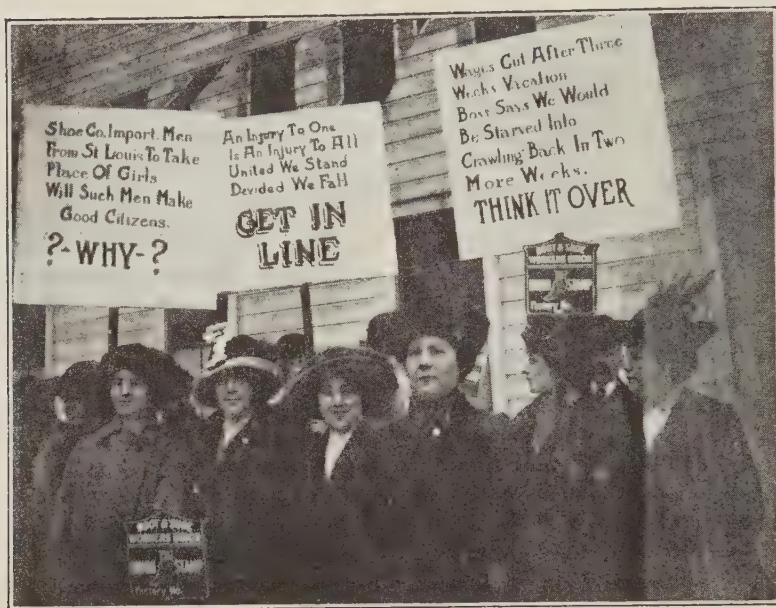
Until the wisdom of the strong can devise a healthy organization of society the practice of sterilization is not likely to reduce the number of undesirables, as the same cause which produced them will continue to produce more and more of them.

We should also remember that spurred on by the Malthusian theory, the English parliament, less than one hundred years ago, passed laws making 223 offenses punishable with hanging, in order that the country might rid itself of undesirables; yet the level of crime has steadily increased.

It would seem to be true that, as the French Assembly has declared, "public misfortunes spring from the contempt of human rights."



THE CLASS STRUGGLE



ON THE PICKET LINE.

San Francisco Shoe Workers' Strike

By F. Monaco

THE strike at Frank & Hymans shoe factory, San Francisco, has demonstrated that even a craft strike may be effective, if carried on in an intelligently militant spirit. This firm occupies a small plant at Eighteenth and Bryant streets, employing eighty to one hundred hands, and paying to the operatives from \$14 to \$18 a week, the "apprentices" (boys and girls of 15 to 17) getting \$3.50 to \$5 a week.

Making a specialty of the higher grade of womens' footwear and having the only plant of this kind in the northern part of the state, this company has a constant market for all of their output. The firm has enjoyed a large degree of prosperity, and has not even the excuse of a dull market to justify their attempt to reduce the wages of their employees.

In the beginning of October, 1912, the employees were asked to accept a voluntary reduction of 25 per cent. This they unanimously refused to do. The firm name at this time changed from "The Kutz Shoe Company" to Frank & Hyman Shoe Company. It was necessary to obtain a new union stamp from the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union. Consequently the firm was afraid to reduce the scale until the union had granted the new stamp. Some of the shrewder members of the union

advocated withholding the new stamp until sufficient assurance was forthcoming that no attempt would be made to force a reduction in wages, and they convinced the union that this was the correct course to take.

The firm of Frank & Hyman then decided to eliminate the men who opposed them successfully in the union by forcing them to look for work in some other community. To this end it was announced that the factory would close down for three weeks "for the purpose of taking stock," and all the hands laid off for this period.

During the first week of January all these workers who had taken a determined position against the reduction of wages were notified to come to the factory and get their tools. The others were notified to return to work at a 25 per cent reduction. A meeting of the union was called, and a demand made that the old scale be paid, and that none of the old employees be discriminated against because of their activities in the Union. The demands were refused, and a strike called. Every last member of the workers stood with the Union. Over \$600.00 was spent by Frank & Hymans to bring scabs from St. Louis; most of whom deserted as soon as they landed in San Francisco. Although about twenty people "have

been kept at work" in the plant there has not been a single case of shoes turned out since the strike was called.

The successful tie-up of the plant has been largely due to the activity of I. W. W. local 173, whose headquarters are not far from the factory. From 4:30 to 5:30 a "chain picket" is maintained while the scabs are leaving the factory, the strikers and their sympathizers forming a long line, singing "Casey Jones," "Scissor Bill," "Out in the Bread Line," and other I. W. W. songs. Every Friday is "woman's day." All the working women for blocks round join in the picket line. The pickets followed the strike-breakers home during the first few weeks of the strike, and succeeded in getting most of them to quit work.

In case of refusal to quit a picket line was formed in front of his house the following Sunday morning, and a banner carried saying that a scab resided in the house. The employers learning of the success of this plan, engaged automobiles to carry the scabs home so that the picket could not follow them home to learn their addresses.

The union then had a man follow the autos on a motorcycle. This enabled them to continue successful in picketing the homes of the scabs. The peaceful and successful conduct of the strike has exasperated the employers beyond endurance. Hyman deliberately ran down the picket on the motorcycle, since which time constant efforts have been made to intimidate the strikers by thugs and gunmen.

During the second week of the strike four members of the shoe workers union, and three members of the I. W. W., were arrested while peacefully picketing, and charged with "va-

grancy." The charges were so palpably false that they were dismissed in court.

A day or two later a thug menaced two strikers with a gun. He was prevented from using it by bystanders. The police arrested the men who were menaced, and summoned the gunman as a complaining witness. Judge Deasy dismissed the charges against the unionists, and fined the gunman \$20.00 for carrying a concealed weapon. A few days ago two thugs engaged in a fake fight while a unionist was passing by. One of the thugs drew his gun with a pretended attempt at self-defense, but with the evident intent of shooting the unionist who was passing. One of his bullets hit Judge Sullivan, who was passing at the time. The thug was arrested and charged with carrying concealed weapons, assault and battery, and attempt to commit murder.

The strike has been carried on in a brilliant and cool-headed manner. The aid and co-operation of the Radicals has resulted in most of the strikers joining the I. W. W. The probability is that the employers will yield before this is read by the public.

The strike has continued since the early part of the year, and is still on. In all there has been twenty-six arrests of the strikers' pickets and only one conviction. There are five suits pending in the civil courts by the strikers against Hyman for damages for false arrest. The suits aggregate \$50,000. Until lately not a case of shoes has been turned out. They are now turning out 60 cases. It requires 250 cases to pay "overhead" expenses (clerical help and wear and tear). Some days ago Judge Sewell of the superior court issued an injunction forbidding the strikers picketing. They continued to picket in defiance of the injunction.

On the day named they appeared in court "to say why the injunction should not be made permanent." The attorney for Frank & Hyman did not appear. On motion of the attorney for the Shoe Workers, Frank & Hyman were given ten more days in which to appear and say why the injunction should be made permanent and the temporary injunction continued. In the meantime the strikers continued to picket regardless of court procedure. Frank & Hyman have offered to take all the strikers back at the old scale and grant all the demands of the strikers, except that seven "agitators" cannot come back to work. The strikers say they will not return till all return.



PICKETING THE PLANT—THE CHAUFFEURS REFUSE TO CARRY SCABS.



STRIKE MEETING OF DYE-WORKERS IN SOCIALIST HALL, ALLENTOWN, PA.

The Allentown Silk Dyers' Strike—By Robert J. Wheeler

THE great Paterson strike aroused the silk-workers of the entire east. Allentown, Pa., is the center of the industry outside of Paterson. Around about this city, within a radius of 30 miles, there must be 50,000 silk workers. They are poorly paid and over-worked, even worse than in Paterson. This was cause enough for a strike, but until the great outbreak in Paterson, the spirit of revolt has not burned very bright up country.

Allentown is the ideal spot for the silk exploiter. We have a working class which has been taught to be content with its lot here on earth.

But the dye workers are mostly Italians; bold, spirited rebels whose spirit neither church nor state has ever been able to break. The Italians struck in an endeavor to support the Paterson strike.

Of course, they had the same grievances. Conditions are even worse here. But the strike was precipitated by the stupid use of the police who were placed on guard over the mill Mar. 11th. The exploiters were afraid some Paterson men might get in and explode things. Monday morning, six men were arrested by the police pickets and held while one policeman ran to a phone and asked the manager of the Dye Works what he wanted done with the suspects. You see, in Allentown, the capitalists make no pretenses. They give the orders direct to the police, the Mayor is only a political salary-drawer.

In the evening of the same day the Mayor, Chief of Police and the First Sergeant, walked through the Dye Works. The game was to intimidate the workers. It had the opposite effect. The men were furious at being guarded like convicts. Strike talk filled the air. The next morning the whole force walked out.

I. W. W. organizer Charles Plunkett had arrived the night before and the work of or-

ganization was carried on rapidly. Five hundred joined the I. W. W. in a few days.

The Socialist Party placed their hall at the disposal of the strikers and party members were very active in helping organize.

The police force was used against the strikers with the utmost vigor. When they had a parade, police drove them from the rear, rode alongside, and the Mayor, Chief and Specials went ahead in an auto. The parade was entirely orderly, but the police tried to start trouble. Every auto or team passing was invited by the police to ride through the damn fools. The chief ordered the cops to break their heads if one of the strikers left the ranks.

Finally the parade turned toward the Socialist Hall. The police drew up in front and would not let the strikers in, while a squad forced them on from the rear. The plan was to create a riot. But the I. W. W.'s policy of non-resistance was carried out to the letter and the men remained quiet. Then the chief ordered Plunkett's arrest. Comrade Plunkett was seized with great violence and pulled out of the crowd. One policeman struck him a heavy blow on the head.

Hundreds of citizens witnessed the treatment of the strikers and the center of the city was filled with angry citizens, denouncing the police.

The following Friday Haywood and Tresca came to town. One of the theatres was engaged for a meeting. When the crowd gathered, the theatre was dark and the manager insolently told the Committee, "Your money is no good." But the Socialist Party, though their hall was engaged for the regular weekly dance held by the Social Committee of Central Branch put the dance aside and the strikers packed the hall to the limit. While Tresca was speaking, we told Bill that the Mayor

and several detectives were in the hall. When Bill got busy, the way he skinned the poor little Mayor and the detectives made the big crowd howl with delight. Outside, a big crowd thronged the street and listened to Bill, whose powerful voice carried clear to the street, the windows being open.

Saturday morning Bill went to Hazelton and returned Saturday night, when another big meeting was held.

The attempt to get the whole industry to strike was not a success. Some of the silk workers, who were Socialists, came out, but the great mass would not move.

The dye workers' strike is still on. The Italians will not give in. At this writing, Haywood is again in town. The Paterson strike is about won and the strikers here will get the same conditions won in Paterson, if they are still out.

In this fight, the Socialist Party has earned

the hatred of the exploiters as never before. They have cancelled our contract for the Lyric Theatre for April 20, when we were to have Kirkpatrick here. We are now shut out of every big hall in town. The strike has been a great thing for the Party. It has provided us with a splendid lot of material for propaganda. Our strong, determined support of the workers in their fight has won us the respect of organized and unorganized alike. Our paper, the Herald, alone of all the city press, is free to support the workers. Now the fool police are going to stop us from talking on the street. Here is where they get their bumps. We are planning to have Con Foley open the campaign, and we are all prepared to win a free speech fight.

And in conclusion, we are going to organize the Silk Workers finally, and we are going to organize them INDUSTRIALLY.

Pittsburg Traitors—By Celia Lepschutz

THE worst traitor to the working class is the man or woman, who, pretending to aid it in its struggles against Capitalism, helps in any way to divide the proletarians, to the benefit of the master class. In a time of strike it is the duty of every real Socialist to point out the class nature of existing social institutions and to aid the workers, not only in winning their fight against the exploiters of labor, but to teach them also the vital need of CLASS unionism on the economic and SOCIALISM on the political field.

During the recent rebellion of the wage slaves of Senator Oliver, of Pennsylvania, a newspaper called the Pittsburg Socialist (?) was a large factor in defeating the workers and serving the master class.

Three thousand employees of the Oliver Iron & Steel Co. struck for higher wages and better working conditions. A large proportion of these were women and girls, and nearly all the strikers were "foreigners" unable to write the English language. The average girl and woman wage was from \$3.00 to \$4.00. Boys earn \$1.00 a day and married men \$1.50 so that wives and children are forced to enter the wage-earning field to supplement the father's earnings.

Women worked 10½ hours daily with arms elbow deep in oil, eating lunch where they sat toiling and returning home in oil-soaked clothing. During the winter the Oliver wage slaves rarely see the daylight and the White Plague finds easy victims among them.

As soon as the strikers went out, I. W. W. and Socialist organizers, who had been carrying on a splendid educational campaign, threw all their strength into the fight to help the workers organize into ONE industrial union that would give them a chance of beating the bosses.

The Pittsburg Justice edited by Fred Merck, threw open its pages to the strikers and held benefit meetings for them, while the Pittsburg Socialist (?) lent its aid to the

Capitalist enemy by seeking to discredit the I. W. W. organizers and members of the Socialist party who advocated CLASS unionism.

The Oliver paper, known as the Gazette-Times, printed regular lies about the I. W. W. and the Pittsburg Socialist (?) REPRINTED an article from the ENEMY'S sheet headed, "The I. W. W. is Repudiated," in which it was claimed that the I. W. W. organizers had collected \$200 for the strikers which these organizers had appropriated; and that the strikers had repudiated the I. W. W.

These lies were promptly nailed and disproved by the organizers. But the prompt help the Pittsburg Socialist (?) gave the Oliver Iron & Steel Company, through the reprinting of the Oliver Gazette-Times calumnies, almost certainly broke the strike.

The Pittsburg Socialist (?) ENDORSED the lies of the Capitalist paper by reprinting them. Hundreds of copies of this issue of this "Socialist" (?) sheet were distributed and sold to the strikers.

Doubt and suspicion was fostered in their minds. Since "Socialists," the professed friends of the working class, warned them against the I. W. W., some of them refused to join. The strikers were at once divided.

Priests and clergymen, as well as capitalist exploiter and newspaper, were one with the Pittsburg Socialist (?) in denouncing the I. W. W. Surely they must be right. The strikers returned to the mills and the fight was lost.

Workingmen and women, this is the lowest point yet reached in the history of the Socialist movement in this country. Socialist Party members have actually joined the capitalists to beat the workers back to slavery. This is the level to which these opponents of class unionism have sunk—that they will join with the exploiters of labor before they will aid the workers to gain real unionism on the economic field.

Two Jurors Disappeared

By J. S. Biscay

THE trial of the first Little Falls striker Filippo Bocchini ended with his conviction despite the fact that he was proven innocent. The sentence of *one year and three months at hard labor* in the Auburn penitentiary was handed out by the judge.

The sheriffs, police and specials *knew* what the verdict would be. They discussed the conviction about the court the evening before it was announced by the jury. One of the jurors admitted that there was "something wrong."

A few days later we became convinced that the jury had been "jobbed." Ten stood for conviction from the beginning. Two wanted acquittal. In the midst of their deliberations a letter came to one of the jurors from ex-Sheriff Richards. He held a mortgage on the property of one of the men who was holding out. These *two jurors had been taken to another town in the dead of night to "see" some person whose name it is difficult to fix.* The court or the defense knew nothing of this manipulation until after the trial. But the fact that these two jurors "gave in" after the letter came, is enough for any one to see the point. One of these two jurors was afterwards pressed for an explanation. But he would not reveal the source of intimidation used, except to give us to understand that he must take care of his family and that *"they could ruin him."*

The conviction brought joy into the camp of the mill owners and disgust to the taxpayers. It cost them \$6,000 to convict Bocchini, only to find the case appealed and the defense as full of fight as ever. How much the walrus-faced corporation tool, Mills, is getting on the side is not known. What is worrying the taxpayers still more is the separate trials of thirteen more cases which will only be appealed in event of "jobbing" again.

I pointed out the attitude of the judge in the last issue of the REVIEW. The defense submitted proof of perjury committed before the grand jury which indicted the workers. On the strength of these sworn affidavits a motion was made for the minutes of the grand jury so that every charge could be specified. The judge refused to allow the defense to see these minutes, but the prosecution was allowed to have them all the time. *Proof of perjury was not allowed in the trial of Bocchini. Some of the witnesses of the defense were threatened and could not be found with subpoenas.*

Yet despite these tremendous odds, the defense managed to prove that Chief Long of Little Falls instructed his thugs how to testify against the strikers. He even admitted drawing up the paper which was reproduced in the last REVIEW and was distributed among the specials who were told to "learn it by heart." *It was proven that Long stopped the parade which had a permit from the mayor, grabbed the banner and struck the blow which was followed by a wholesale*

clubbing. The chief later dragged workers into the Phoenix mill, handcuffed them and beat them until they lay in a pool of blood. Most of this was admitted by nearly half of the thugs on the witness stand. *One admitted helping two others beat up a prisoner in his cell with black-jacks.* The principal witnesses for the prosecution were specials, some of whom admitted criminal records, bosses, business men and city employees.

Benjamin J. Legere is next to be tried beginning April 23. The struggle here may take six months more. For this reason it is necessary that you on the outside co-operate with the *Little Falls Defense Committee* whose address is *Box 458, Little Falls, N. Y.*

Pressure must be brought upon Governor Sulzer, Albany, N. Y., for an immediate grand jury investigation of the Little Falls authorities. Copies of these demands should be sent here. Already he has called upon certain officials here for an explanation, but that is not enough. We want to enforce the laws against those who are responsible for the shedding of human blood. The stripes must be put on those that are guilty. We have the proof but we need your assistance.

This is the time for concerted action in which the white feather has no place. It is not the question of any particular man or organization, but to see that justice is done. If the rest of the workers and their friends are railroaded, it will mean that they have been deserted by those who should have defended them.



J. HARTNETT, a Union Scab,
member Textile Workers

Socialist Theory and Tactics

By Charles A. Rice

Effects of Pure-and-Simplism in Germany

Part IV—Continued

b. *Sterility of pure-and-simplism.*

Before discussing the effects of pure-and-simplism and its tactics upon the labor movement in Germany since 1900, we must take it up under another aspect or from another point of view. This aspect is the *total sterility of parliamentary socialism in Germany in both the economic and the political field.*

Four decades of parliamentary socialism have completely failed to achieve *any economic or political reform of vital value to the German proletariat.*

All the so-called social legislation, with its very doubtful benefits, as far as the workers are concerned, was entirely due to the efforts of Bismarck and his régime to stem the tide of the Social Democracy. The various forms of workingmen's insurance and pensions existing in Germany came into life during the reign of the bloody Anti-Socialist Law, that is, during the period when the Social Democracy was in *jail, but not in parliament.*

True, our comrades in the Reichstag have been to some extent instrumental in forcing government inspection of shops, factories and mines. They may have had some share in securing to the workers a greater measure of safety to life and limb wherever an industrial establishment or mine was equipped with safety devices. Our comrades in the Reichstag may have been partly responsible for the fact that sanitary and hygienic regulations are more strictly observed in German shops and mines than is the case, for instance, in this country. But we must guard against attaching too much weight to these so-called reforms, that is to regard them as *radical economic reforms.* We should also avoid the other pitfall of interpreting these "boons" as achievements primarily due to the efforts of parliamentary delegations.

In the first place, labor legislation and government inspection of industrial establishments are not a monopoly of Germany.

Even darkest Russia has some laws regulating the hours of labor, the employment of miners, and the conditions of work in general. Even Russia under the Cossack knout boasts of its factory inspection. The classical country for labor legislation is not Germany, but England. The laws regulating child labor, the hours of work, and other conditions of work, are enforced just as rigorously and factory inspection is just as effective and thorough as they are in Germany. And it is well known that the English labor laws date from a time when the English workers were not at all represented in the English Parliament.

Almost every state in this country has some labor laws on its statute books whose passage was due to the efforts of crafts-union lobbyists, bourgeois reformers, or even politicians, but not of any Socialist delegation in any legislature.

Moreover, labor legislation and factory inspection are for the most part practically a dead letter and must remain so until the workers are sufficiently organized and sufficiently powerful to have them enforced or until the workers are in a condition to dictate the terms and conditions of their work. Shop and mine inspection, for instance, mean very little, no matter how thoroughly and conscientiously carried out; in every case where the workers are not *actually* a controlling factor in their respective industries to the extent of being in a position, *economically*, to live up to the requirements of the law. This actual control of the shop conditions on the part of the workers and their *ability* to make labor legislation effective are, as borne out by experience, possible of realization *only under the following conditions:*

1. The workers must be sufficiently organized in point of numbers and sufficiently aggressive as to dictate to their employers under what shop conditions they, the workers will agree to work. Just think of the holocaust in the recent fire at the factory of

the Triangle Waist Company in New York, how ineffective were all the laws for securing fire prevention and all the building code of the state of New York in face of the fact that the workers themselves were compelled to work in such a fire trap because their labor organization was not strong enough, nor aggressive enough to make an *effective* demand for a fireproof shop and adequate equipment for fire prevention or for protection and safety in case of fire.

2. The workers must already have achieved that stage or degree of *economic power* necessary for making labor legislation effective. This means that low wages, long or frequent periods of unemployment, or the constant pressure of competition in the labor market against a mass of unorganized workers with a lower standard of life, do not compel them to accept any employment and submit it to any conditions of work in shops or mines that do, or may, endanger life or health. The Triangle victims had to work in that fire trap *because they could not afford to refuse* such work or choose employment with more safety to life and limb. Owing to all the conditions of the labor market just mentioned, they had to work or starve.

Now, what is true of the United States, is, though to a somewhat smaller extent, true of Germany as well. Not even *there* are the workers economically strong enough to compel the employers to equip their plants in such a manner and adopt such improvements in the productive processes and methods as to insure the maximum of safety to life and limb, and the maximum of sanitation and hygiene. Nor are the German workers economically independent enough in *all* industries as to be in a position to live up to the requirements of the law or shop or mine regulations as to safety and sanitation. In those industries where the workers are not favorably situated as outlined above, government regulation and inspection are as much of a force in Germany as they are elsewhere.

Recently several hundred miners were killed and injured by an explosion in German mines in spite of all the inspection and safety regulations. The miners simply *had to disobey* the regulations in connection with the proper placing of blasting charges and the selection of the right kind of pow-

der. They *had* to work against the regulations, since *otherwise*, owing to peculiar conditions of the workings, they would have been compelled to waste more time than they could possibly afford in *view of the starvation wages they had been getting!* (See *Mine Zeit*, Aug., 1912.)

True, railroad accidents and wrecks and the consequent loss of life are far more rare in Germany than in the case with us. But this, far from having anything to do with parliamentary Socialism, or to the efforts of political delegations, is entirely due to the fact that the railroads are run by the government. Profit hunting and dividends are thus almost out of the question. German industry, in general, does not call for frenzied speed to the same extent as is the case in the United States. The government can far better afford to be a little less reckless where the safety of passengers and employes are at stake than are our own railroad brigands.

Again, it may be admitted that the German wage slave enjoys a greater measure of protection to life and limb, that German plants are better equipped with safety appliances and their arrangements for sanitation or for the general comfort of the workers are better and more up to date than is the case either in England or in this country. It is also true that, in general, there is less waste of life and industrial grind in Germany than possibly anywhere else. But this again is not so much or possibly not at all due to the efforts of the Social Democracy in the Imperial Reichstag or in any other legislative body. There are certain peculiarities of German capitalism as a whole, and Germany's industries in particular, which are principally responsible for the facts just cited. These peculiarities we shall take up in connection with *point C*, which will treat of the "effects of pure-and-simplism on the labor movement in Germany since 1900."

Nor has Socialist effort in the Reichstag done anything, nor could it do anything, to abolish the "pluck-me-stores" and company shacks, payment in "script" and other forms of exploitation and loot to which German miners in certain districts are frequently subjected no less than in the United States. These curses still exist and will continue to exist until the German workers wake up in real earnest.

It is hardly necessary to mention that over four decades of parliamentary Socialism have not forced any one of the economic reforms included in the "Immediate Demands." There is hardly any prospect that the Social Democracy will carry and enforce an 8-hour work day law, abolish indirect taxation, force a progressive income tax, nationalization of land, or wrest from parliament any other industrial, financial, or land reform of any value to the workers. All the efforts and success of our German comrades in the political field have proved absolutely powerless to reduce the frightful cost of living in Germany. In all their verbal fights in the Reichstag they have not succeeded in getting one inch ahead against the enormous load of indirect taxation, against the brigandage of the agrarian tariff on meat and other food-stuffs, against militarism, and against all the other plagues and leeches of advanced capitalism and baronial landlordism that suck the life blood of the German workers.

Now, our German pure-and-simplers always mumble the same plea. "We are not yet in the majority. Wait until we capture the Reichstag, and you shall see what wonders we have in store." Let us for a moment leave aside the question or prospects of getting a majority in the Reichstag, as we shall take it up by and bye. Let us look at things Social Democratic the way they are now. Is it not astounding that 110, or 80, or even 60 representatives in the Reichstag, numerous delegations in the provincial Diets, and *several million Social Democratic votes* cannot accomplish anything? Do they or do they not represent a tremendous social force? Haven't we the logical right to expect, on pure-and-simplist assumptions, that they should or ought to represent such a force? Our pure-and-simplers assure us, that the ruling class and the government dread nothing so much as a large Social Democratic vote or a large parliamentary delegation; they shiver in their boots at every victory of the Social Democracy at the polls.

If this is really the case, why, then, don't they grant *some* of the reforms at least which are so loudly, insistently demanded not only by the political spokesmen of the proletariat, but by the lower layers of the middle class as well? Why do the ruling classes drive all these discontented and dis-

gruntled elements into the arms of the Social Democracy if they, the rulers, quake and tremble and feel the cold shivers down their backs in their utter dismay at the onward march of the vote-bucklered hosts of the Social Democracy?

Are the rulers in Germany stone blind or stark mad? Are they more reckless and more down right stupid than are their cousins in other countries? Why do they not fling an economic bone here or a political sop there to the different strata of "underdogs" and so allay their discontent, dampen their opposition, and steer them away from the trail of the Social Democracy? According to the pure-and-simplist way of looking at the matter, the capitalist cohorts of Germany must have lost their senses.

Since the last assumption is utterly improbable, the puzzle is just as brain racking as before. We are confronted with this appalling dilemma: Either 110 seats in the Reichstag and over four million votes in a comparatively small country like Germany, *do* represent a social force at all commensurate with the formula 110 represent*, four million votes. In this case, why, in the name of all logic, does it not, nor will it accomplish anything? Or the above political quantity represents nothing dynamic whatever, is only a mere symbol for something else or simply a political way of saying that a *real force* of an entirely different character is coming, or is in process of formation.

There may still be a third alternative. The above quantity *is* a force, but of far smaller magnitude than is indicated by the above numbers or far below the level at which pure-and-simplist mathematics puts it. If either of the two last assumptions be true, we ought to drop the subject at once. And still something very important remains to be said on the score of pure-and-simplist sterility.

The proletariat of Vienna, by a formidable onslaught in the streets, *did* force the government in doing some effective work in lowering the high cost of living in so

*Kautsky will bear out the position taken here that, without a social upheaval, the party will, in the future as well as it has in the past, accomplish next to nothing by parliamentary action. See his article in the "New Review," Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan. 4, 1913.

far as this was due to Austrian conditions proper. The English miners and transport workers, by a *general strike*, did bring the capitalist class and the government of England to some terms, though the English workers had no *Socialist* representation in Parliament, not even an apology for such representation, or, rather, though the workers were as good as betrayed by the MacDonald aggregation of semi-Socialistic Lib. Labs (Liberal Laborites).

The proletariat of Austria *did force* universal suffrage through a general strike. Our proletarian comrades in Russia *did* do and accomplish something during the revolution. Our own wage slaves, mostly unorganized, with almost no political class consciousness, with no Socialist in Congress to represent them, *did* get some reforms, such as the 8-hour work day for those who are employed by the government directly or through contractors. Why, then, cannot a splendid delegation in the Reichstag and millions of Socialist votes *do* and why have they failed to do, something worth while, and secure for the German proletariat some radical economic reforms worth the having?

What is still more stupifyingly incomprehensible in the career of pure-and-simplism, is its utter sterility *in its own field*, its *political fiasco*. Not an iota was gained by the Social Democracy where we should have expected it to gain the most. Not a single *political* reform did our German pure-and-simplers wrest from the bourgeoisie and its government. In spite of the immense energy which our German comrades have displayed at political campaigns and in spite of their astonishingly brilliant victories at the polls, all their efforts and success have had absolutely no weight, no social pressure sufficient to force a single radical concession bearing on the political rights and powers of the workers. There are no prospects of doing away with the monstrous farce of the 3-class franchise for the Prussian Landtag. Nor is the case much better in the provincial Diets or legislative bodies outside of Prussia. There isn't the ghost of a chance that the Fatherland, short of general strike, will be redistricted in a more equitable way. As is well known, Germany is gerrymandered

in such an outrageous manner that Berlin with its millions of proletarians is entitled to no more mandates (seats) in the Reichstag than some sleepy burgh with a population of a few thousand. Reactionary farmers, traders, parsons and other dull caps of the pigmy middle class layers residing in such a mouldy and musty village or town are usually the herd following the local squire or some high government nabob and vote for reaction and repression.

But without radical electoral reform including redistriction or proportional representation and woman suffrage, there is not the remotest probability that the Social Democracy will capture the Reichstag or any of the Landtags without the help of a prolonged general strike.

The police clubs and all the other varieties of official thugdom known to our German comrades as the "Scharfmacher" seem to be unaware of the great Social Democratic victories at the polls and keep on clubbing workingmen, breaking up Socialist meetings and demonstrations in the good old style of the Pennsylvania Cossack constabulary.

As to woman suffrage, proportional representation, the initiative, referendum, and recall,—these are political boons that our German pure-and-simplers dare not even dream of.

The parliamentary end of the Social Democracy might have been less *sterile* if it had had the backing of a *militant* working class organized in *industrial unions* or in *one class union ready and trained for mass action* at least for *political* ends, ready for a general strike and other forms of displaying and testing mass energy and initiative, at least as well trained and ready as are the workers in Belgium, France, and, recently, in England. But, as we shall see below, the German workers were not in the past, nor are they yet ready in the above sense. And so pure-and-simplism in Germany proved disgracefully sterile, and must remain a mere abortion, as far as any tangible results in the field of economic and political reform are concerned. Thus the chances which the German proletariat has at the political end of the game are hopelessly slim and remote.

Shall the Socialist Party Govern Itself?

By W. J. BELL

A Reply to William English Walling

"Any body opposing this reform, then, can do so only as a traitor to all the traditions of international Socialism and an opponent of democracy."

SO SAYS William English Walling in April INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Quite accustomed to being thrust into the "traitor" class I will again submit to the manhandling. *I oppose.*

The reform proposed is the use of proportional representation *within* the Socialist Party, specifically in election of the National Executive Committee by the National Committee.

As representation never represents any more than democracy is practiced by the Democratic Party, I am positively opposed to proportional representation or any other misrepresentation.

However, we must, to a degree, treat with methods that are here.

So-called "representation" in government is here. Like the fads of fashion it is the order of the moment, and not merely government, but everything parliamentary is saturated with it. That is why we are to have a National Executive Committeeman "representing" a National Committeeman "representing" a State Committeeman "representing" a district "representing" a local "representing" the members, whereas a year ago there was only one step from the member to the N. E. C.

This being true, "proportional representation" in affairs of government of the whole people, where *divergent political parties* seek control, is the *nearest approach* yet made to that mirage "representation."

"Proportional representation" therefore should be sought in general government.

But the identical reasons that demand proportional representation in general government condemn its use in the Socialist party. In fact it can never be used in the Socialist party.

It could be tried but to breed confusion.

Proportional representation acknowledges and demands the existence of divergent

factions within the body that uses it. If they do not already exist it will create them. That is its nature and function.

Instead of seeking the causes of unnecessary factions and removing them you would make factions a permanence by a device to whip them into existence.

Factions known as political parties have basic fundamental differences.

There are no basic fundamental differences in the Socialist party. Such differences as we have are effervescent and exaggerated for political and ambitious reasons. They are mostly created, and if treated normally would be found to be only slight differences of opinion.

Suppose we were to adopt "proportional representation" in "adjusting" (?) our relations over our "stupendous" questions. What would be the name of the "factions" today and what would be the new alignment tomorrow? Impossible vs. opportunist? Scientific vs. Utopian? Reformist vs. Revolutionist? Politicians vs. Anarchists? Simpleism vs. Industrialism? Red vs. Yellow? Black vs. White? or what not?

What would be the *issue* today, and what paramount tomorrow? A principle or a tactic? The worker robbed at point of production vs. worker robbed at every turn? All land vs. unused land? Use of restored land for homes, now vs. non use pending collectivity? Political Action vs. Direct Action? Sabotage vs. Sabotage? Bill stole vs. Bill stole not? He said "damit" vs. he said "drat it?" et al., et. al., ad. lib.

If you succeeded in electing party proportional "representatives" of two factions of today on one issue how soon would you have to realign other factions on other issues? Other factionlets on other "issuelets" and other little "fightlets?" You are breeding a pestilence. I tell you, it is all

chaff. Blow it away. I tell you here is the now well known "secret" cause of abnormally developing mere differences of opinion into ferocious dissension, attack and slander instead of *normal and sane discussion*.

There are places of great power, prestige and emolument in the Socialist Party, ever growing more powerful and ever more remunerative.

The member *seeking* these places and having them not and the plain member who only *pays the bills*, seeing unmistakable abuses of power, lavish wastefulness of funds, continual and speedy deprivation of the members of the machinery of democracy, cannot speak with patience but must needs *vent his ire, suspicion and contempt*.

The member *filling* these places, fearful of losing his hold, jealous of any rising opponents who endanger his power, prestige or perquisites, cannot speak with sanity or act with openness. *He builds his fences, tightens his grip. Further encroaches on the democracy of the members; creates false issues; makes false charges and even grossly slanders the menacers of his power.* And there you are. There is your full fledged row.

Very plainly then the CAUSE OF THE RANCOR AND DISSENSION IS THE EXISTENCE OF THE PLACES OF POWER, unless you choose to lay it to "human nature."

As you do not propose to await the transformation of human nature YOU MUST REMOVE THE PLACES OF POWER from within the party or continue to suffer bitter dissension and inevitable dissolution.

In the use of proportional representation outside the party and in suggestions for the direction of elected officials, Comrade Walling is breaking a fertile field, though his suggestions are tinged with that spirit of austere domination that will never successfully control elected officials, but will rather induce retaliation from them.

Neither will his proposition of a centralized "representative" body to dictate in the name of the "whole party" over the actions of a representative avail, further than to aid and suggest.

It may do in "Deutschland" where coercion and submission is the habit, and whose entire territory may be confined to a county in Texas, but with the political structure of this country, in spite of all

their rigorous rules and commands he could snap his fingers in their faces, go back to his local constituency, be re-elected and make faces at them and they would have no legal recourse they could enforce against him.

The forces that will keep the party and its elected representatives in a straight revolutionary course are these, and these only.

EDUCATION by the press thoroughly and without frenzy discussing all principles and tactics.

AN AWAKENED MEMBERSHIP in permanent possession of every instrument of democracy—direct election, direct legislation, *with the initiative nowhere but with the membership*, likewise with the recall and referendum, and with *all centralized heads eliminated*.

A thoroughly "awakened membership" will never be had until it has been thoroughly bumped into consciousness by repeated betrayals by its elected "representatives."

Whenever that occurs he will earnestly try to represent them and will share with them his salary. Until then he is likely to bump them.

Any effort to intimidate, control or discipline him before they awake will be a fizzle.

The program of decentralization does not, as imagined by Comrade Walling, "purpose to afford some representation to minorities." It purposes to temper the "discussions" between minorities and majorities by removing that incentive to viciousness in discussion — centralized power.

If the method by which we elected members to the International Congress is "proportional representation" I am, of course, in favor of it, but I do not understand the preferential ballot to be proportional representation.

"The principle of geographical autonomy" is *not* "opposed to the principle of industrial autonomy," though it differs in units and therefore in efficiency.

The geographical units are, however, imposed upon us, and we must adhere to them until we are able to change political units to parallel the industrial units.

Both political decentralization and industrial decentralization must be attained and by the democratization of both, con-

centration of effort and industrial efficiency will be attained.

We will not "control our own petty autocrats." We will eliminate them and thus lay the ground work for the dethronement of "the infinitely more powerful and re-

sourceful autocrats of the capitalist system."

Now what shall I say in closing? O, yes.

"If this be treason make the"—O, well, what's the use.

EDITORIAL

Socialist Victory in Butte. Two years ago the Socialists carried Butte, Montana, by a plurality, but not a majority. The old parties ran separate tickets. Our candidates slipped in between them. The new mayor, Comrade Lewis J. Duncan, and his associates accepted their responsibilities in the spirit of revolutionists, as servants of the working class. They realized that the possession of the city hall was a new and wonderful opportunity before them for organizing and educating the workers in Butte. This they set about with tireless energy. We in this office can testify that during the last two years Butte has circulated more scientific Socialist books in proportion to its population than any other city in the United States. Industrialist speakers from all over the country have found a hearty welcome and big audiences in Butte, and it is worth noting that Montana is one of the states that voted NO on the recall of Haywood. All this has helped draw class lines in Butte clearly and unmistakably. The capitalists have for months been discharging Socialists from the mines and smelter works so as to drive them out of town. The "respectable" element were no doubt turned against our party by its "immoral" advocacy of industrial unionism. Everything looked like defeat. And yet as we were going to press we received the following telegram from a comrade:

Socialists of Butte, Montana, win against old party fusion by majority of five hundred out of total vote of eight thousand. Mayor Duncan, Treasurer Shovlin, Police Magistrate Booher re-elected. Seven Socialist aldermen out of a possible nine, a gain of two over two years ago.

What does all this mean? In Milwaukee, where office-holding is the ideal, the offices are all lost except two or three berths on the school board, the common council and the legislature. Perhaps, when we think it all over, we shall find that the Socialist Party is alive and powerful only when it is faithful to its aim of nothing less than revolution, and to its method of education in the foundation principles of Socialism. Temporary successes may come by accident, but these accidents are a loss rather than a gain, if they turn us aside from our true aim and our true method.

Is the Socialist Party to Fuse with the Progressives? The following paragraph by a party member who signs himself "Ex-Populist" is so timely and important that we take this way of bringing it to the attention of our readers.

In the April Metropolitan Magazine of New York, a magazine that has as its foremost writers Morris Hilquist, W. J. Ghent, Algeron Lee, and others high in the counsels of the Socialist Party, there is a long editorial upon the recall of Haywood. The whole import of the editorial is to the effect that the recall of Haywood is a sign that the Socialist party is to draw away from the "poor devils," leave them to Haywood and the I. W. W., and perfect a fusion with the Progressives. To quote exactly, it says: "The recall of Haywood clears the way for a better understanding between the Progressives and the Socialists." In the same issue there is an article on "Wilson and the Bull-Moose," by Will Irwin, in which it is suggested that Berger and the opportunist faction may unite with the Progressive Party. Irwin says: "There are signs, indeed, that the extreme labor and revolutionary element may gain control and toss over Berger and the opportunists to the Progressives." It is hardly to be supposed that such articles and editorials would appear in

a magazine controlled and affiliated so closely with Hillquit, Ghent and Lee, without their approval. As an Ex-Populist, and one who thus saw a movement wrecked by fusion, I want to protest against these hints for fusion with a false friend of the working class, the Progressive Party. I think it time that the rank and file of revolutionary Socialists demanded from these leaders, where they are at.

We hardly need add that there is no disposition on the part of the revolutionary element of the party to "toss over"

the opportunists so long as they remain loyal to the principle of the class struggle. On the other hand, signs are not wanting that the opportunist officials of the party are trying to drive out and expell the revolutionists. Perhaps this is to prepare the way for turning over the whole party organization to the Progressives. Why bother about the "poor devils" when there is a chance to get offices?

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Belgium—The General Strike.—The general strike is to take place. Before the May number of the REVIEW is in the hands of its readers it will have begun, and it may have been ended. April 14 was the day set by the strike committee, and the great working-class convention which met in Brussels, March 23-25, formally accepted the decision of the committee.

It is impossible here to record in detail all the moves and countermoves which made up the history of this affair during the past month. The Prime Minister refused to promise any adequate suffrage reform; the strike committee issued the strike call; the mayors of the chief cities met to consider the affair; a sub-committee of the strike committee consulted with them and agreed to a compromise according to which there was to be no strike; the Minister made a declaration which was regarded as more satisfactory; the Socialist Parliamentary group decided against the strike; then it was generally reported that the strike committee had decided to recall its order. This was the condition of affairs when the regular annual Socialist congress met at Brussels. Though this was primarily a Socialist congress the various labor unions were officially represented. The majority of the strike committee submitted a resolution in favor of their original arrangement, that is, calling the strike on April 14. The great parliamentary leaders, Huysmans and Vandervelde, spoke against it. But the labor

representatives reported that the members of their unions everywhere were ready to strike. So the committee resolution was carried almost unanimously.

There the matter rests as the REVIEW goes to press. We shall see what we shall see.

Hungary—General Strike Declared Off. Eight years ago the King of Hungary, who, incidentally, is the same person as the Emperor of Austria-Hungary, promised his people universal, adult suffrage. Recently, the premier, Count Tisza, introduced into parliament a miserable five-class suffrage law. The opposition, led by the Socialists, adopted vigorous methods of protest and were driven out by soldiers. Thereafter they presented themselves daily at the door of the assembly hall and were formally refused entrance. In January a special Socialist congress met and decided upon a general strike to force the government to grant a reasonably modern suffrage act. All preparations were made for this strike; the workers seemed to be enthusiastically in favor of it. Just recently the opposition group was readmitted to the sessions of parliament, but, instead of going back as was expected, the members of the group went together to the chamber of deputies and immediately walked out again. Immediately afterward the general strike was called off.

There has been a good deal of discussion of this move. Hungarian Socialists say they did not want to enter upon the strike without a spokesman to represent

their cause in parliament. This hardly seems convincing: if there was no opposition in parliament, there was all the more need of opposition throughout the country. Another reason for the apparent retreat is the imminence of foreign war. This reason may have some real force; at least no one outside the nation involved would be inclined to deny that there may be something in it. It is, however, quite certain that the Socialists of Hungary announced their intention of calling a strike without being willing to make good their threat. If they did not make a mistake when they called off the strike, they surely made one when they decided to call it.

Militarism Gone Mad. When the Balkan war began everyone foresaw the possibility of a great international conflict. Experts were busy telling just what would happen when Germany and Russia, or Germany and France, or Germany and England began military operations. But not many prophesied the terrible thing which is actually taking place.

The new military proposal just submitted to the German Reichstag by the government involves a single, immediate expenditure of approximately \$300,000,000. A large part of this is to be used to increase the size of the standing army from about 650,000 men to about 800,000. Some \$25,000,000 is to be expended upon aerial equipment of various sorts. A line of fortresses is to be constructed along the eastern frontier for defense in case of war with Russia.

In France, the Minister of War, M. Etienne, has had adopted by the cabinet, and introduced in parliament, a measure providing for a return to the three-year military service. The adoption of this measure would mean an addition of \$100,000,000 to the military budget. The introduction of it at the present time by a radical ministry shows how far the responsible leaders of the French republic have departed from the progressive ideas which they represented a few years ago. It was only in 1905 that the three-year term of service was given up in France and the present two-year term introduced. At that time bourgeois France seemed to be developing in the direction of peace and civilization. The latest move by the government shows that there has been a



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complete about-face. If the three-year term is introduced it will prove clear that the French government must be placed beside that of Germany as a devotee of stupid militarism. French intelligence, French idealism, French democracy cannot stand against the demands of modern capitalism.

The reason for the identical activities of the two great powers of continental Europe becomes clear the moment one considers the effect of the Balkan war on Germany. The victory of the allies over Turkey will mean the formation of a great Slavic power. To be sure the exact form of this power cannot at present be foreseen; perhaps it will be merely a close alliance of Bulgaria, Serbia and the smaller Balkan powers; perhaps it will be a single new state. In any case, however, the Slavs of southeastern Europe will have a governmental representative among the powers approximating their numerical and economical importance. If this new nation is able to secure a port on the Adriatic and the other transportation facilities which it will need in the course of its development, it will bring about a complete change in the distribution of power among the governments of Europe. There must be a new "balance."

The attitude of the great powers toward the future Slavic empire is sufficiently indicated by recent events. At the time of writing (April 10), eight war vessels, three of Austria, two of Italy, one each of Germany, England and France, have begun the blockade of a port on the coast of Montenegro. Nothing could better demonstrate how false have been the efforts to stop the war. What the powers have wished was not peace, but the cessation of the series of victories achieved by the allied armies. It was necessary to stop before the allies got what they wanted and thus made their future secure. To the same end the great powers, recently so bent upon bringing about peace, are willing now to begin a war in comparison to which the original conflict will appear but as a preliminary skirmish. The Balkan states wish to go on till they have taken Scutari and made secure for themselves access to the Adriatic. This Austria is bound to stop at all costs.

But even if the immediate plans of the allies are partially defeated, the Slavic

advance is already a fact. Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, etc., taken together, will form a power quite comparable eventually with Austria or Germany. And racially and linguistically it will be quite separate from all the other great nations except Russia. By giving the millions of Slavs within the Austrian empire a government outside of Austria to look to for leadership, it will, by its mere existence, endanger the integrity of Austria. This in itself constitutes a threat to the power of the German race. Moreover, by taking over great stretches of territory in which the German government and German capitalists were gaining more and more power, the new Slavic empire will definitely limit German influence in the near-east. Added to all this is the fact that the existence of the new governmental unit vastly increases the influence of Russia.

So Germany is madly increasing her military, naval and aerial forces, and France feels compelled to follow suit.

In Germany there is determined opposition on the part of numerous sections of the population. For years the German government has practically been bankrupt. When, two years ago, the military budget had increased until there was a regular deficit of \$100,000,000, an income tax proposal was defeated and the government was forced to place new taxes on many of the necessities of life. It was because of the unpopularity of these taxes that the Social Democrats made such tremendous gains last year. But the deficit has never been made up. The German government is not now paying its way. The German people are not wealthy. With a population more than a third greater than that of France their wealth is counted at several billions less. The cost of living has reached the uttermost limit. And yet the government, crazed at the thought of losing its place among the powers, proposes these new expenditures.

The necessary money is to be found by means of a graduated income tax. The law which the government intends to introduce will provide for a tax of a half per cent on incomes of \$2,500 and one of two per cent on estates producing an income of \$12,500 or more. When a similar measure was offered two years ago the landed aristocracy managed to defeat it.

Apparently they are as much opposed as ever. Their representatives are all for increased military equipment, but when it comes to sharing the expense, they are very modest indeed. And further indirect taxation seems simply out of the question. No wonder the opposition to the government is vigorous. The Socialists are not by any means the only-ones to rise in protest. The masses of the people are beginning to see whither they are being led by the present regime of insane militarism.

In France the situation is somewhat different. Travelers returning from overseas report that all the old chauvinism of the French people is being re-aroused for the use of the present government. The minds of the people have been fired by the reports of the war, and especially by the talk of increase of armaments in Germany. So the old talk about the disgrace of 1870 has been revived and no doubt many silly people in Paris dream of retaking Alsace and Lorraine. But the folly of the French is not by any means so widespread as the press dispatches would lead one to believe. *L'Humanité* publishes reports from all over France which go to show that the organized working-class stands where it has always stood with regard to this matter. Gigantic assemblages of union men everywhere have declared against the three-year service act. Just outside of Paris there took place on March 16, a mass meeting participated in by over 150,000 workers. Numerous companies of soldiers in the various barracks have passed resolutions of protest. It is certainly true that for the moment France seemed to have gone army-and-navy mad, but every day the steady opposition of the working-class is gaining in power. Jules Guesre dares the government to put its proposal to the test of a referendum, expressing perfect confidence that it would be rejected.

On their part the Socialist group in parliament have introduced Jaures' plan for a national militia. This plan, as is well known, provides for a democratically organized militia, not living in barracks, and to be used only in cases of foreign invasion. The present writer has no faith in any sort of military organization. But there is no doubt of the fact that the proposal of Jaures has certain practical advan-

This Washer Must Pay for Itself.

A MAN tried to sell me a horse once. He said it was a fine horse and had nothing the matter with it. I wanted a fine horse. But, I didn't know anything about horses much. And I didn't know the man very well either.

So I told him I wanted to try the horse for a month. He said "All right, but pay me first, and I'll give you back your money if the horse isn't all right."

Well, I didn't like that. I was afraid the horse wasn't "all right" and that I might have to whistle for my money if I once parted with it. So I didn't buy the horse although I wanted it badly. Now this set me thinking.

You see I make Washing Machines—the "1900 Gravity" washer.

And I said to myself, lots of people may think about my Washing Machine as I thought about the horse, and about the man who owned it.

But I'd never know, because they wouldn't write and tell me. You see I sell my Washing Machines by mail. I have sold over half a million that way.

So, thought I, it is only fair enough to let people try my Washing Machines for a month, before they pay for them, just as I wanted to try the horse.

Now, I know what our "1900 Gravity" Washer will do. I know it will wash the clothes, without wearing or tearing them, in less than half the time they can be washed by hand or by any other machine.

I know it will wash a tub full of very dirty clothes in Six minutes. I know no other machine ever invented can do that, without wearing out the clothes.

Our "1900 Gravity" Washer does the work so easy that a child can run it almost as well as a strong woman, and it don't wear the clothes, fray the edges nor break buttons the way all other machines do.

It just drives soapy water clear through the fibres of the clothes like a force pump might.

So, said I to myself, I will do with my "1900 Gravity" Washer what I wanted the man to do with the horse, only I won't wait for people to ask me. I'll offer first, and I'll make good the offer every time.

Let me send you a "1900 Gravity" Washer on a month's free trial. I'll pay the freight out of my own pocket, and if you don't want the machine after you've used it a month, I'll take it back and pay the freight, too. Surely that is fair enough, isn't it?

Doesn't it prove that the "1900 Gravity" Washer must be all that I say it is?

And you can pay me out of what it saves for you. It will save its whole cost in a few months, in wear and tear on the clothes alone. And then it will save 50 cents to 75 cents a week over that in washwoman's wages. If you keep the machine after the month's trial, I'll let you pay for it out of what it saves you. If it saves you 60 cents a week, send me 50 cents a week 'till paid for. I'll take that cheerfully, and I'll wait for my money until the machine itself earns the balance.

Drop me a line today, and let me send you a book about the "1900 Gravity" Washer that washes clothes in 6 minutes.

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tages at the present time. The need of protection against a possible foreign enemy is made the excuse for every military burden. If the Socialists can show that it is possible to provide for defense without maintaining a standing army, this argument will be likely to count for more than any other with a majority of the French people.

The following resolution has been adopted by the executive committee of Socialists' parties of the two countries involved in this great struggle for supremacy in preparedness for war: "The Socialists of France and of Germany protest unanimously against the endless expenditures for armaments, which exhaust the nations, force them to neglect the most important activities of civilization, heighten their mutual distrust, and, instead of insuring peace, induce conflicts which lead to universal catastrophe and

end in misery and death for the working-class.

"The Socialists of the two countries have a right to regard themselves as the interpreters of the two nations when they affirm that the masses of both by a large majority, desire peace and hold war in horror. It is the ruling classes on both sides of the frontier which, instead of allaying national prejudices, provoke them artificially and thus turn the two peoples from their efforts in the direction of civilization and popular emancipation.

"In order to assure at once the maintenance of peace, national independence and the progress of democracy, the Socialists demand that all differences between the two nations be settled by arbitration; for they feel that to deal with them by violence is nothing less than barbarity and disgrace to humanity.

"They demand that the standing army,

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Charles H. Kerr, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of March, 1913.

(Seal)

Marcus Hitch, Notary Public.

(My commission expires October 5, 1916.)

which constitutes a standing menace be replaced by militia—bodies democratically organized and having for their sole purpose the national defence.

"The Socialists of Germany and of France have already, by their action in the past, unmasked the perfidious duplicity of the chauvinists, of the manufacturers of war-materials, who attempt to convince the French that German Socialists give their support to militarism and the Germans that French Socialists do the same.

"The common struggle against chauvinism on both sides of the frontier, the struggle to bring about peaceful and friendly relations, ought to bring this artificial double dealing to an end. It is the same cry against war and against the standing army which echoes through both countries. It is under the same international banner, a banner which stands for the liberty and independence of each nation, that the Socialists of France and the Socialists of Germany carry on with ever increasing vigor their struggle against insatiable militarism, against devastating war, and in favor of treaties of arbitration and enduring peace between the nations."

It is not at all impossible that the wild struggle of various national groups of capitalists against each other will prove to be the immediate cause of the downfall of capitalism. In countries where the labor movement is weak a war may serve to set it back for many years and so strengthen the grip of the capitalist class. Even where the forces of labor are well organized, a war may so distract the attention of the workers as to prove a setback to the labor movement. But, on the other hand, the blind efforts of governments to outdo each other in military undertakings cannot, in the long run, fail to alienate the most docile toilers in the world. For, putting their faith in cannon and aeroplanes, the rulers seem more and more to overlook the popular demands for the necessities and comforts of life. A government devoted to militarism is bound to become despotic and unpopular. At last it sees in its citizens only what the Germans so graphically described as "cannon-food."



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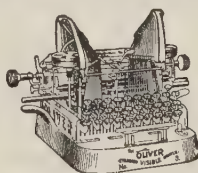


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NEWS AND VIEWS

Comrade Mary Kules, who has been speaking all over the west and southwest for the Socialist party, is dotting the landscape everywhere she goes with the finest kind of Socialist literature. Comrade Green of Texas, writing to another comrade, says: "She certainly made good in Texas. We wanted to keep her longer." All the others who have heard her speak are enthusiastic about her. It is not often that we hear of a woman comrade who can make good everywhere but Comrade Kules is one of the exceptions. We understand that she expects to take an European trip in a few weeks and to put THE REVIEW into every spot on the map along her way.

Let's Buy 'Em. Coming from Milwaukee to Chicago yesterday, I observed that the recent storms had blown down Western Union Telegraph poles for a distance of 16 miles. Most of them were rotten at the ground line, and those that were not were carried down by the added weight. This is a part of the rotted, robbed and depreciated Telegraph System that Hitchcock, the late Postmaster General, recommended that the Federal Government BUY. Similarly, it was our one and only "late" Congressman Berger, as his last act of "statesmanship"—proposed that the Government BUY the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, the ties of which are so rotten that a favorite pastime in Connecticut is a game called "Pulling the Spikes," played by using the thumb and forefinger, the contestant pulling the most spikes in a given time winning an accident policy, payable after death. Let us elect a lot of Socialist congressmen pledged to advocate BUYING every broken-down capitalist wreck. O tempora! O Mores!! O hell!!!—N. P. R.

Local Schuylkill, Lost Creek, Pa.—Comrades: Find enclosed money order for \$1.00 for 20 Reviews. At the last branch meeting a motion was passed that we get 20 copies each month until we require an increase. The opinion of the comrades of the branch is that the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, the FIGHTING MAGAZINE of the working class is just the thing needed to make sound socialists. Yours for the Victory,

Frank Possessky.

From Fairfield, Iowa.—I have sure found the way to inoculate the slaves with Socialism. THE REVIEW does it. That's all.—J. Jay Hisel.

From Utica, Ohio.—Enclosed find \$3 for which please send me sixty of the REVIEWS for April. It is surely some seller. I never had to ask anyone if they wanted the second one. I hope to be able to use 100 before long and will not stop if it takes a thousand. I am yours for the Revolution, J. G. Montrose.



COMRADE MARY KULES.

From Seattle, Wash.—Enclosed find check for \$25 for 500 March REVIEWS. Please send 500 April issue. Ship them early. Our state convention just ended, was a "red one." Pest-house Socialists are trying to organize yellow party. The Capitalist Press claims a big split. 'Tis false—only few preachers and lawyers quit—working class more united than ever. If the politicians can't do as they like, they won't play. The Socialist party in this state is so big and healthy no politician has a chance. They just can't stay any longer, hence they have decided to organize under the yellow flag. The workers retain the red, so let them go ahead, these politicians. Their yellow flag will frighten every worker and warn him against the pest-house of politicians and preachers. Yours for more Red Socialists, Millard Price.

From Santa Cruz, Cal.—Dear Comrades: Enclosed find money order for \$1 for renewal to the "Fighting Magazine," THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, and may the REVIEW remain right on the firing line. Yours in the Revolution, DeForest Sanford.

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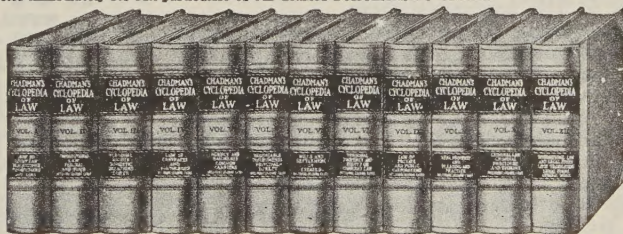


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Our Haledon Mayor.—When the authorities in Paterson, N. J., refused to permit the strikers and the I. W. W. organizers there to picket or to hold open-air meetings, when the police started their crusade of brutality, Comrade William Brueckmann, the Socialist mayor of Haledon, N. J., which is only five miles from Paterson, invited the 30,000 strikers to come over to his city and celebrate and hold their meetings. The Paterson authorities sent detectives to cause trouble, but the Socialist mayor armed the Socialist sheriff with warrants for their arrest and all the trouble-makers, hired by the capitalists, were driven from the city. *The Weekly Issue*, edited by Comrade Alexander Scott, at Passaic, has been an eye-opener to everyone in the vicinity in showing up the mill-owners and backing up the strikers. We want to call the attention of every local in the Socialist party to the splendid, practical aid these comrades and hundreds of others in the Socialist party have given in this crisis. These are practical things achieved by Socialists in office that we can never forget.

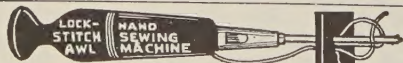
News From Dayton.—The Workers' Reading Club, a band of active Reds in Dayton, write that little was destroyed in their club room by the flood. Comrade Evans writes that as far as he can learn all the comrades are safe, but that the club building will not be habitable for probably six weeks. It is good to know that our friends escaped in the Dayton disaster.

Edmonton, Alta., Canada.—Comrade McQuoid sent in \$80 on April 1 for a stock of Socialist classics. They are building on the rocks of knowledge in Edmonton. Congratulations to the comrades there.

New Mexico Helps Catholics.—We are in receipt of word from comrades in New Mexico telling us that last year the House of Representatives and the Senate of New Mexico appropriated \$60,000 to Catholic institutions. The state lacked \$150,000 of meeting expenses, but again this year they are donating a large sum to the church. It looks as though the Catholic church had its foot on the throat of New Mexico.

The Best Propaganda Book.—Comrade Tinkle of Wyoming writes: Send five more "Introduction to Socialism." It is the best little book I know of to start a non-Socialist thinking right.

From Philadelphia.—Like the white plume of Navarre, THE REVIEW cheers us all when standard bearer after standard bearer falls in the fight, for it waves fearlessly in the forefront of all our battles. Isn't there some way to organize an INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW army? I owe to the Kerr Publishing Company a debt of gratitude for the books on scientific Socialism that cleared the rubbish of capitalism from my brain. I want to help to widen its field.—Ed Moore.



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